DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 360 197 SO 022 278

TITLE	Biennial Report of the United States Institute of Peace, 1991. Submitted to the Congress and the President of the United States.
INSTITUTION	United States Inst. of Peace, Washington, DC.
REPORT NO	ISBN-1-878379-13-5; ISSN-1-047-5915
PUB DATE	Jan 92
NOTE	189p.
AVAILABLE FROM	United States Institute of Peace, 1550 M Street, N.W., Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Conflict Resolution; Disarmament; *Foreign Policy; *Government Role; Higher Education; *International Relations; *Peace; War
IDENTIFIERS	*Peace Studies

ABSTRACT

This document is the third in a series of biennial reports on the United States Institute of Peace. The Institute devotes itself to matters of international peace based on freedom and justice. Functioning as a nonideological educational resource for policymakers and officials, the Institute does not intervene directly in the formulation or conduct of U.S. foreign policy. Principal purposes of the Institute include: (1) expanding knowledge about international conflict and peace by sponsoring research, analysis, and training; (2) disseminating such knowledge; and (3) promoting understanding of the complexities of international conflict and peace among the U.S. public. The Institute promotes its goals through grants, fellowships, research, education and training, and library and information services. As Chapter 1 of the report indicates, the Institute undertook special initiatives during fiscal years 1990 and 1991 concerning the Middle East and Eastern Europe. In addition, according to Chapter 2, the Institute continued ongoing efforts in such areas as international conflict management, arms control, East-West relations, and sources of violence. Chapter 3 describes the Institute's education and training activities and has sections entitled "Helping Educate Secondary and Postsecondary Teachers and Students" and "Training for Other Professions." Chapter 4 discusses grants, fellowships, and research programs that the Institute sponsors. Descriptions of management and corporate affairs and biographies of Institute board members and senior staff comprise Chapter 5. A chairman's statement, message from the president, an overview, and three appendices regarding the United States Institute of Peace and its enabling legislation are attached. (SG)

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Biennial Report of the

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

1991

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BIENNIAL REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

1991

Submitted to
the Congress and the President of
the United States of America

By Elspeth Davies Rostow
Chairman of the Board of Directors
January 1992

United States Institute of Peace
Washington, DC

The Biennial Report of the United States Institute of Peace was prepared and transmitted to the President and the Congress of the United States pursuant to Section 1712 of the United States Institute of Peace Act (Public Law 98-525, as amended).

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Published by:
United States Institute of Peace
1550 M Street, N.W., Suite 700
Washington, DC 20005

Library of Congress Card Number: 88-659599
ISBN 1-878379-13-5
ISSN 1-047-5915
Printed in the United States of America

Editorial and Production Services:
Joseph Foote
Claude O. Norcott

First Printing 1992

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CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT

As the United States Institute of Peace completes six years of activity, the world is changing more rapidly, dramatically, and profoundly than at any time since World War II and, perhaps, than at any time in this century. At such a moment—promising, but unsettling and dangerous—the work of the Institute takes on special significance. The United States, although not a hegemonic superpower, is inescapably the world leader in promoting an international state system that relies to the greatest extent possible on peaceful means and collective security principles to settle international conflicts. It also leads the world in demonstrating the values of a free and open democratic approach to self-governance. It is in this tradition that the Institute strives to strengthen the efforts of American peacemakers and those in other nations who share these purposes.

Today, the Institute undertakes its work in a world in which relationships between nations are increasingly conditioned by revolutionary advances in communications technology. No longer, with rare exceptions, can rulers seal off their borders to insulate their people from knowledge of the world outside. The attempted coup in Moscow in August 1991 was foiled partly because international media and private fax machines informed the Russian people immediately about the actual course of events, thwarting the plotters' attempts to depict a false picture of reality.

The failure of the August coup reinforced an historic lesson: that the attainment of peace and personal freedom is the dream of most people on this planet. On every continent, modern communications technology increasingly holds out that dream as a realistic possibility—worth risk, struggle, and faith. But technology can also help would-be aggressors and demagogues entice their peoples to follow the destructive banners of ethnic, xenophobic, or religious fanaticism.

In this tumultuous environment, where the shape of the next century is at issue, the Institute is well positioned to help both government officials and private citizens make sense of a new world yearning for peace, but still unable to achieve it. Building on the excellent framework provided by its legislative mandate from the Congress, the Institute now has a sound and durable structure both as a federal entity and an independent corporation. Its broad purpose is to educate. Its mission is to enlarge the capacities and roles of international peacemakers. How well the Institute is carrying forward that mission is described in great detail in this third *Biennial Report of the United States Institute of Peace*. It is a record of remarkable achievement. One aspect that makes me especially proud is the evidence of ways the Institute is helping to bridge the wide gap between foreign policy scholars and foreign policy practitioners—between thinkers and doers. As one who hails from the world of scholarship, I can say that this bridge is badly needed by those on both sides of the chasm. The Institute is doing an outstanding job of bringing relevant academic insights

(From left to right) John Norton Moore, former Chairman, Board of Directors (February 1986–June 1991), Elspeth Davies Rostow, Chairman, Board of Directors (elected in July 1991; Vice Chairman January 1989–July 1991), and Institute President Samuel W. Lewis.

to those public officials who can best employ them in the search for peace; simultaneously, it is giving the public in general, as well as students and academics, a greater understanding of the peacemaking process.

All of us associated with the Institute are deeply encouraged by the support and encouragement of President Bush, senior officials of his Administration, and those many Members of Congress from both political parties who have continued to demonstrate their enthusiasm for the Institute's purposes and direction.

On behalf of the Board of Directors, I want to close with a special tribute to John Norton Moore for his dedicated service as Chairman from the first Board meeting in February 1986 until he resigned in June 1991. Professor Moore brought insight, wise guidance, and cheerful optimism to our work, thereby imparting much enduring character to this institution. All of us who served with him are greatly in his debt. I also thank other members of the Board who have left during the past two years—W. Bruce Weinrod, Richard John Neuhaus, and Sidney Lovett—for their creative service, and I enthusiastically welcome three additional distinguished colleagues, Mary Louise Smith, Theodore M. Hesburgh, and Chester A. Crocker. The Board of the Institute is a working board, having met more than a dozen times for eight to twelve hours on each occasion during the period covered in this report. It consists of an active, hardworking, and deeply committed group of Americans who are carrying out an important task for this country. As its Chairman, I am pleased to report that the United States Institute of Peace is a worthy expression of our Nation's commitment to a world of individual freedoms, democratic values, and peace.

This *Biennial Report* provides the chapter and verse. It merits a wide readership among the American taxpayers who sustain this unique national institution.

Elspeth Davies Rostow
Chairman

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MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The world is reeling through a period of radical change. About that, few would disagree. But global trends are highly contradictory. The likely outcomes are still obscure to those concerned with peacemaking and peacebuilding—whether they be diplomats, educators, students, civic leaders, or the hopeful architects of free and democratic societies.

One current runs swiftly in the direction of international peace and greater freedom. Around the world, communism and many of its authoritarian spin-offs have fallen; forty-five years of mutual hostility between the United States and the former Soviet Union have ended, replaced by themes of cooperation and shrinking military arsenals, and more of the potential for the United Nations envisioned by its founders now seems attainable. Evidence of this current can be found in the burgeoning democratic movements in Eastern and Central Europe, Russia, and other former Soviet republics; in accelerating progress toward ending apartheid in South Africa; in new possibilities for Arab–Israeli peace; and in significant steps toward resolving long-standing conflicts in such places as Afghanistan, Angola and Namibia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Cambodia, and El Salvador. Even North and South Korea are negotiating a mutual renunciation of nuclear weapons.

At the same time, other powerful currents run in quite opposite directions. Disputes over territory (as in Azerbaijan), religion (as in Sri Lanka), political power (as in Haiti and Somalia), national identity (as in Yugoslavia), and other issues are generating bitter conflicts that range from terrorism to guerrilla warfare to full-fledged war. As 1991 ends, it is highly unclear whether the newly independent former Soviet republics will achieve a peaceful, stable coexistence or slide into bloody conflict as the result of economic hardship, ethnic xenophobia, or political tensions stemming from efforts to introduce drastic political and economic reforms. Conflicts are unabated or even intensified in many other places, including Peru, Somalia, Zaire, the Middle East, Punjab, and Kashmir; the list goes on. Other worrisome trends involve famine, environmental decay and disaster, refugees, and proliferation of nuclear technologies and chemical and biological weapons, as well as the spread of increasingly sophisticated conventional weapons among states and groups ready to use them.

Some of these threats to peace, long obscured by an overriding preoccupation with the Cold War, pose wholly new sorts of security challenges that will require much creative attention by the United States and like-minded nations. Even the more positive trends toward democracy, international and regional cooperation, and collective security may be reversed unless many governments, including our own, invest the energy and resources to sustain them. The United States Institute of Peace is helping to meet these challenges.

Vaclav Havel, President of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, addresses a joint meeting of Congress. Behind are Vice President Dan Quayle and Speaker of the House Thomas Foley.

The United Nations General Assembly Hall.

President Bush and former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev sign the START Treaty in July 1991.

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FULFILLING A MANDATE

This is the third *Biennial Report of the United States Institute of Peace*. The first, in 1987, described how the Institute's Board of Directors and president had initially implemented the United States Institute of Peace Act by establishing the Institute as a nonprofit corporation, laying its administrative foundations, and launching initial programs.

The second *Biennial Report*, in 1989, described the further refinement of key principles and policies; the maturation of full-fledged grant, fellowship, and research and studies programs; and the launching of activities in education and training, library services, religion, ethics and human rights, publications, and public affairs. Still, by the end of fiscal year 1989, many of these activities were in early stages of development, and the Institute could speak mostly about *potential* and *anticipated* results.

This third *Biennial Report* carries messages distinctly different from its predecessors. During fiscal years 1990 and 1991—the reporting period generally covered—the products of the Institute's first years of research and educational work are evident in significant volume. These products include:

- Hundreds of manuscripts, books, articles, and reports produced by distinguished scholars, diplomats, and other experts from many nations;
- Expert working groups quickly organized to probe options for peacemaking in the wake of fast-breaking international events—including the Persian Gulf

Milestones 1989–1991

- **President Bush's nomination and subsequent Senate confirmation of Elspeth Davies Rostow (for a second full term), Mary Louise Smith, the Reverend Theodore Hesburgh, and Chester A. Crocker to terms on the Institute's Board.**
- **Election of Elspeth Davies Rostow to succeed John Norton Moore as Chairman of the Board.**
- **Establishment of Institute-wide initiatives on Middle East peacemaking and the rule of law.**
- **Broadening of working relationships with official and nongovernmental institutions in the Commonwealth of Independent States and Eastern and Central Europe.**
- **Authorization from the Congress to award the Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace annually.**
- **Establishment of the United States Institute of Peace Press and publication of its first books.**
- **Issuance of timely special reports on Eastern and Central Europe, the Persian Gulf crisis, and lessons from Arab–Israeli negotiating history, which were distributed widely among key officials in the executive and legislative branches.**
- **Completion of five half-hour segments of "Breaking the Mold: U.S.–Soviet Relations 1945–1989," an educational video series with teacher guides for use in high school and university classes.**
- **Broadcast of the first three segments of "Breaking the Mold" on public television stations across the country.**

crisis and political change in the former Soviet Union and Eastern and Central Europe—that resulted in rapidly produced and widely disseminated reports;

- Education materials for classroom and curriculum enrichment, teacher training workshops, and video packages for classroom use and educational television;
- Technical assistance and training for persons directly involved in drafting new constitutions; teaching mediation techniques, and negotiating peace agreements; and
- Development of a national specialized library network, databases, and services linking libraries across the country.

A UNIQUE INSTITUTION

These products are only some of the most tangible results of almost six years of institution building and program development. Less visible are several developments that stem in part from the Institute's unique, independent government status.

First, the broadening reach of Institute activities has created a large network of current and former diplomats, policymakers, outstanding policy analysts and scholars, leading conflict-resolution experts, and top educators at all levels, on whom the Institute can now draw in fulfilling its mandate. This network makes it easier for the Institute to perform the crucial "bridging function" between the worlds of "thinkers and doers" to which Chairman Rostow alludes.

Second, the Institute has developed productive informal relationships with the National Security Council staff, the Departments of State and Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the United States Information Agency, the Library of Congress, and, of course, many key Members and staff experts in the Congress. These relationships facilitate collaborative activities with those agencies, with U.S. embassies overseas, and with congressional organizations such as the Helsinki Commission. Equally important, those contacts help the Institute target part of its activity on relevant, current policy issues high on the U.S. government's agenda, without infringing on the prerogatives of other institutions or ceding any control over its own priorities and agenda.

Board member Mary Louise Smith (left) and executive vice president Charles E. Nelson (center) converse with National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft (right) after his presentation to the Board.

Third, the Institute's dual capacities—both to award grants and fellowships and to conduct its own research projects—allow maximum complementarity in its research portfolio. That flexibility permits the Institute to devote substantial resources to long-range, basic questions, without ignoring the need for "applied research" addressed to the current peacemaking agenda.

Fourth, the Institute's research dimension strengthens its overall educational impact. Knowledge produced through grant projects or from Institute-directed research can then be conveyed in a variety of educational formats for students, teachers, civic leaders, and foreign affairs professionals.

Fifth, the Institute's unique character as an official public institution, insulated from political and ideological pressures and separate from the executive branch of government, lends it additional credibility among those who bring diverse views and experiences to the common goal of promoting international peace and also facilitates cooperation with both official and private organizations in other countries.

PRIORITIES—PAST AND FUTURE

During the past two years, the Institute's Board assigned a high priority to new initiatives developed in response to the Persian Gulf crisis and its aftermath and to new opportunities for promoting the rule of law and democratic pluralism, especially in areas formerly under Soviet domination. Other areas of special attention have included religious and ethnic conflict; multilateral organizations, particularly the United Nations and regional institutions; and arms control.

These years were also marked by expansion of the Institute's education and public information programs, which have targeted teachers and students in high schools, colleges, and universities as primary audiences. Augmented grantmaking in curriculum and materials development, teacher training, and public education programs has reflected this emphasis. In coming years, this area warrants even more attention and an increasing share of resources.

In sum, I believe that the United States Institute of Peace has now put down sturdy roots and is fulfilling many of the hopes of those in the Congress who designed this national resource for promoting international peace. With continued confidence and support from the American people, and with adequate financial resources from the federal government, the Institute can continue providing essential concepts and tools for all those committed to achieving a more peaceful world.

Samuel W. Lewis
President

OVERVIEW

AN INDEPENDENT FEDERAL ENTITY

The United States Institute of Peace Act, passed by the Congress and signed into law in 1984, established the Institute as a publicly funded national institution that would devote itself to matters of international peace based on freedom and justice. The Congress insulated the Institute from political pressures by granting it independent status as a federal institution and nonprofit corporate form with a bipartisan governing Board of Directors appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

Since its first meeting in February 1986, the Board has considered that independence essential in building the Institute's identity and earning confidence in its work. As intended by its enabling legislation, the Institute functions as a nonideological educational resource for policymakers and officials and does not intervene directly in the formulation or conduct of U.S. foreign policy.

The law directs the Institute to serve the American people and the federal government through "the widest possible range of education and training, basic and applied research opportunities, and peace information services on the means to promote international peace and the resolution of conflicts among the nations and peoples of the world without recourse to violence." To implement the broad mandate of its enabling legislation, the Institute has identified three principal purposes:

- Expand basic and applied knowledge about international conflict and peace by sponsoring research, analysis, and training on the broad range of issues that affect international peace;
- Disseminate such knowledge to those who can best use it in policymaking, diplomacy, journalism, research, and teaching; and
- Promote greater understanding among the American public of the complex nature of international conflict and peacemaking through educational and informational activities.

As both a research and an educational organization, the Institute is unusually well positioned to support the efforts of diplomats, officials, and other professionals working in conflict management and resolution, and to make the results of work by the Institute and others available to students, scholars, and the general public.

PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES

The Institute carries out these functions through five core program areas:

- **Grants.** The Institute encourages research, education and training projects, and dissemination of information through financial support to nonprofit organizations (including colleges and universities), official public institutions, and individuals.
- **Fellowships.** The Institute also invests in people—outstanding scholars, statesmen, diplomats, other professionals, and university doctoral students—many of whom conduct their projects at the Institute and participate in its daily life. The Jennings Randolph Fellowship Program is named after the former senator from West Virginia who was a long-time sponsor of legislation to create the Institute.
- **Research and Studies.** The Institute designs and conducts studies on issues of current interest to practitioners, decisionmakers, scholars, and the interested public by bringing together experts from the United States and abroad and by publishing the results of their deliberations.

- **Education and Training.** A national peace essay contest engages high school students directly, while both high school and postsecondary students are reached through grants that train teachers and develop curriculum materials. Students and the general public are also reached through educational video products and outreach programs. Conflict resolution training programs conducted by diverse institutions receive Institute support as well.
- **Library and Information Services.** The Jeannette Rankin Library Program, named for the Montana peace activist who was the first woman elected to Congress, promotes state-of-the-art information retrieval and bibliographic projects through a national network coordinated from the Institute. The program is also developing a specialized core collection at the Institute.

The Institute also has special initiatives in the following areas:

- **Middle East Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution.** Grantees, fellows, study groups, and staff are working on an array of projects concerned with various aspects of U.S. and international efforts to help achieve greater peace and stability in the volatile Middle East.
- **Rule of Law.** Projects are under way in the United States, Eastern and Central Europe, Russia, and Africa to encourage democratic governance and the institution of the rule of law.
- **Religion, Ethics, and Human Rights.** An Institute senior scholar is conducting a working group on religion and nationalism and cooperates with individuals and organizations in educational settings and other outreach activities related to these subjects.

All the programs and initiatives described above are supported by three departments:

- **Publications and Marketing**, which publishes and disseminates the Institute's *Journal* and *In Brief* series and, through the United States Institute of Peace Press, the *Dialogues from Public Workshops* series, special reports, and books generated by Institute activities.
- **Public Affairs and Information**, which relays information to mass audiences through media services, a speakers bureau, and other outreach activities.
- **Administration**, which provides the Institute with financial, personnel, and procurement services.

ORGANIZATION OF THIS REPORT

This third *Biennial Report of the United States Institute of Peace* covers Institute activities during fiscal years 1990 and 1991. In some cases, to cover subjects more thoroughly, the report mentions activities from previous fiscal years or work being initiated as fiscal year 1991 ended.

Two special program initiatives begun during this reporting period are covered in Chapter I. A more comprehensive look at Institute research programs appears in Chapter II, which illustrates in detail how the Institute marshals its resources to focus on particular topics. The Institute's education and training activities, mentioned throughout the report, receive detailed attention in Chapter III, which also reports on the Jeannette Rankin Library Program, public affairs, and publications. Comprehensive lists and descriptions of grants, fellowships, and research and studies activities are contained in Chapter IV.

The Institute's management and corporate affairs are discussed in Chapter V, which includes data on congressional authorizations and appropriations. Chapter V also contains brief biographies of Board and senior staff members. The Appendix includes the current texts of the United States Institute of Peace Act, the Bylaws of the United States Institute of Peace, and the Articles of Incorporation of Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace, Incorporated.

Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace

Many are remembered for their valor in combat; few are remembered for what they have done for peace. Spark M. Matsunaga should be remembered for both. In late 1990, the Congress authorized the Institute to award annually the Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace in memory of the Senator's love of peace and his determined support of peace education and peacemaking. The authorization was the only amendment to the Institute's authorization during the current biennial reporting period.

A decorated combat veteran of the U.S. Army's all-Nisei 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team in World War II, Spark Matsunaga served the people of Hawaii as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1963 to 1977 and as a U.S. Senator from 1977 to his death on April 15, 1990. Believing from early youth that peacemaking is as much an art to be learned as war, he introduced legislation calling for the establishment of a "national academy of peace." In 1979, Senator Matsunaga was named chairman of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. The U.S. Institute of Peace Act of 1984 was based on the commission's findings and recommendations, which included the creation of a prestigious national peace medal.

Honorable Spark M. Matsunaga (1916-1990).

After the Institute's founding, the Senator's support was tireless; he was an invaluable guide, friend, and mentor to the Board of Directors and staff. His active concern for the future was evidenced every year in the welcome he gave the students participating in the annual National Peace Essay Contest awards program. "To go to the Capitol to meet Senator Matsunaga, to hear him speak about his service to his country and his dream of a peaceful future was an experience they won't forget," said one observer of those sessions.

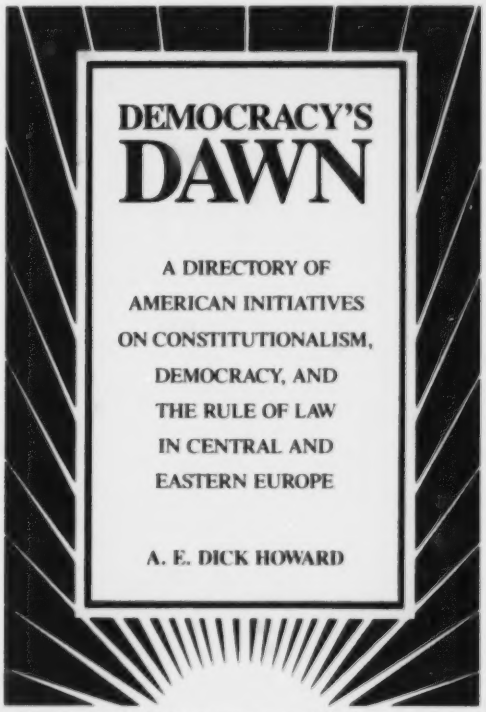
In 1992, upon the advice of a distinguished board of advisors, the Institute will award the medal to one or more individuals or organizations who have contributed in extraordinary ways to peace among nations and peoples of the world, giving special attention to contributions that advance society's knowledge and skill in peacemaking and conflict resolution. A $25,000 cash award will accompany the medal, which was designed by the Department of the Treasury in consultation with the Institute and the Commission of Fine Arts. The medal will be bestowed in public ceremonies that will emphasize its importance and prominence and to honor the work of the recipient(s) and Senator Matsunaga.

CHAPTER I
SPECIAL INITIATIVES IN AN ERA OF RAPID CHANGE

MAKING PEACE AMONG ARABS AND ISRAELIS

Lessons from Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE



Issuance of timely publications is an important aspect of the Institute's special initiatives on Middle East peacemaking and conflict resolution, and the rule of law.

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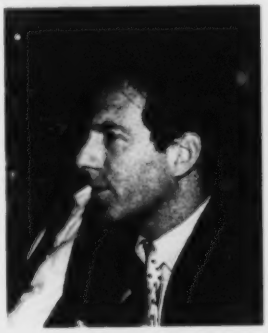
PEACEMAKING IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND PERSIAN GULF

The Persian Gulf war and its aftermath fundamentally altered conventional wisdom about opportunities to contribute to a more peaceful and durable order in the Middle East. Helping the U.S. government respond to these opportunities was a major Institute priority in 1991. In early spring 1991, the Institute established a Special Middle East Program in Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution to encompass several new activities and to relate them coherently to other projects already included in the Institute's permanent programs of grants, fellowships, and in-house research.

This initiative illustrates the Institute's special capacity to address a key issue by means of several different, yet complementary, approaches that draw on an expanding network of current and former grantees, fellows, and other affiliated experts. The Institute's dual nature as an independent government institution and a research organization grounded in academic and practical scholarship also enables the Institute to conceive, develop, and conduct projects that engage both policymakers who need timely analysis and scholars whose in-depth, relevant knowledge often escapes the attention of policymakers. Dialogue between these two communities plays a major part in the Institute's Middle East initiative, and their interaction enriches project results.

In 1991, the Institute established three study groups to feed ideas and analysis informally to the executive branch, the Congress, and the public and to generate special reports to inform the national debate. These study groups are addressing the Middle East arms race, Arab–Israeli peacemaking, and the role of the United Nations in postwar security arrangements in the Gulf.

The Institute also designated Middle East peacemaking and arms limitation issues for special priority attention through its 1992 solicited grants competition and chose several 1991–92 fellows whose projects bear directly on this region. Moreover, in 1991, the Institute organized a three-day conference on peace and security in the Middle East and a novel simulation exercise on Arab–Israeli negotiations. These projects and others with broader, nonregional focuses—such as conflict resolution and humanitarian issues—that can be applied to the Middle East peacemaking task are also receiving priority Institute attention. In addition, dozens of grantees and fellows are completing projects relating to the Middle East begun before the Gulf crisis.



Richard Haass (right), senior National Security Council staff member, and Alan Platt (left), president, Henry L. Stimson Center, at seminar on Middle East arms control conducted by the Stimson Center with Institute grant support.

The Institute also seeks to enhance public understanding of the complex nature of conflict and peacemaking in the Middle East. Its reports and other printed materials are made available to civic organizations, libraries, and members of the public. In addition, Institute experts speak to audiences across the country and participate in print and broadcast media interviews.

The special Middle East program was largely designed by Institute president Samuel Lewis, a former U.S. ambassador to Israel. In its early stages, it was directed by Hume Horan, a career Foreign Service Arabist who served as U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Cameroon. In October 1991, Ambassador

Horan was succeeded as senior Middle East coordinator by another experienced former diplomat, Robert Oakley, former special assistant to the President and senior staff member on the National Security Council for the Near East and South Asia and U.S. ambassador to Zaire, Somalia, and, most recently, Pakistan.

CRISIS IN THE GULF

When President Bush announced in August 1990 that the United States would send troops to the Gulf in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the United States Institute of Peace responded promptly to provide timely information and assistance to the government and the American people on ways to promote peaceful resolution of the conflict.

In early October, at an Institute conference on Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War Third World, a special panel session was conducted on "The Gulf Crisis: Finding a Peaceful Solution." Seven experts on diplomacy, conflict resolution, negotiations, international law, the United Nations, the Middle East, and the personalities of political leaders discussed various peaceful approaches to resolving the crisis. A brief report was quickly printed and widely distributed to officials in the executive branch, Congress, and interested members of the general public. In addition, the session was broadcast nationwide several times on C-SPAN television.

As the Gulf crisis unfolded, the Institute became a locus of information for government officials, the media, and the general public. Board members, fellows, and staff testified before House and Senate committees on topics ranging from the role of international law to relations among Middle Eastern states. They also briefed officials at the National Security Council and the Department of State on a number of issues, including the likely effectiveness of sanctions and diplomatic ultimatums. The Institute's public affairs office received more than 200 requests from print and broadcast media for information relating to the crisis. Fellows, grantees, and staff members were on many radio and television talk shows and provided information and analysis to newspaper reporters around the country. The Institute also undertook to collect historical records of the Gulf crisis in a special library collection. (For details on the collection, see Chapter III.)

ADDRESSING CHALLENGES IN THE POST-GULF WAR MIDDLE EAST

Regional Arms Control

An Institute study group focusing on Regional Arms Control Arrangements and Prospects in the Post-War Middle East met four times in 1991. Its premise was that the aftermath of the Gulf war created a new climate in which progress on regional arms control might finally begin even though this region has experienced only arms races, not arms limitation. Specific topics included how to halt proliferation of ballistic missiles and chemical, biological, and nuclear capabilities; how to begin building mutual confidence and create negotiating opportunities among Middle East countries on the linkages between arms control initiatives and other aspects of the peace process; and how to transfer lessons from the history of East–West arms control negotiations to the multipo-

Helena Cobban speaks during a meeting of the Institute study group on regional arms control.

Excerpts from the *Interim Report on Middle East Arms Control after the Gulf War*

- **"Arms control measures should be pursued in parallel with the 'peace process' and negotiation of regional security arrangements and should not await progress toward a general political settlement in the region."**

- **"Measures involving interaction should also be pursued, including confidence building measures, such as 'hotline agreements' and prior notification of military maneuvers; weapons deployment limitations; and establishment of 'keep-out zones' to restrict deployments to certain geographic regions."**

lar Middle East. The group's agenda will be expanded to include ramifications of the findings of UN inspection teams about Iraq's nuclear weapons capability.

Among the study group members are arms control and regional experts, as well as officials from several government agencies. (See Chapter IV for a full list of members.) An interim report from the group was issued in May 1991, shortly before President Bush announced the administration's Middle East arms control initiative.

Peacemaking among Arabs and Israelis—Dos and Don'ts

Another study group on Lessons from Peacemaking Efforts in the Middle East: Approaches and Diplomatic Processes examined the most and the least effective aspects of the Arab–Israeli negotiation processes over the past fifty years. The group placed particular emphasis on successes and failures since the 1967 war, including how to create an effective negotiating process involving Israel, key Arab states, and representative Palestinians, and how to make the lessons of past multilateral diplomacy in the Middle East relevant and useful to today's negotiations.

Study group members included a wide range of American diplomatic practitioners and experts on Middle East negotiations, including several former ambassadors to Middle East countries; former special presidential envoys; former senior Department of State and National Security Council officials; and several current U.S. officials. Altogether, participants possessed 300 years of diplomatic experience under six Presidents.

During its four sessions in 1991, the group concentrated on the lessons from successful and unsuccessful negotiations that might bear lessons for current or future negotiations, especially those cases in which U.S. mediation played a central role. A preliminary report was released in May and distributed immediately to key U.S. officials then engaged in attempting to launch new Arab–Israeli peace negotiations. A final report, *Making Peace Among Arabs and Israelis: Lessons from Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience*, was published in October 1991, just before the beginning of the Madrid Middle East Peace Conference. A subsequent press briefing on the report was aired on C-SPAN television.

This study group typified the Institute's ability to mesh historical analysis with contemporary issues to produce a useful resource for government officials and other diplomatic practitioners concerned with Middle East peacemaking.

Excerpts from *Making Peace Among Arabs and Israelis: Lessons from Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience*

- **"Base the mediating process on already accepted negotiating guidelines. Avoid creating broad new frameworks with untested and unfamiliar elements or terminology."**

- **"Leverage or 'pressure' is of little or no value until the negotiating process is well advanced and parties can 'smell' agreement."**

- **"Negotiators must think ahead in drafting a document to choose language that will withstand domestic political pressure, and the mediator needs to be sympathetic to this requirement."**

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir (left, facing camera) represents Israeli delegation at Madrid peace conference. To his right is the Lebanese delegation. In foreground at table are leaders of Jordanian–Palestinian delegation, Jordanian Foreign Minister Kamel Abu Jaber (left) and Haider Abdul Shafi (right).

Lessons from Peacemaking Efforts in the Middle East Study Group Participants

(with selected diplomatic and Middle East-related affiliations)

Alfred Leroy Atherton, Jr., *former U.S. ambassador-at-large for Middle East negotiations, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, and U.S. ambassador to Egypt*

Graeme Bannerman, *former member, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State, and staff director, Senate Foreign Relations Committee*

Chester A. Crocker, *former assistant secretary of state for African affairs*

Morris Draper, *former consul general in Jerusalem and deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs*

Charles Hill, *former director of the Office of Israel and Arab–Israeli Affairs and deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs*

Hume Horan, *former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia*

Martin Indyk, *historian, executive director, Washington Institute for Near East Policy*

William A. Kirby, *former deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs and member, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State*

David A. Korn, *former director, Office of Israeli and Arab–Israeli Affairs, Department of State*

Alan J. Kreczko, *deputy legal advisor, Department of State*

Daniel C. Kurtzer, *deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs*

Samuel W. Lewis, *president, United States Institute of Peace, former U.S. ambassador to Israel (cochairman)*

Sol M. Linowitz, *former personal representative of President Carter for Middle East negotiations*

Aaron David Miller, *Policy Planning Staff, Department of State*

Richard W. Murphy, *former U.S. ambassador to Syria and to Saudi Arabia and assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs*

William B. Quandt, *former National Security Council senior staff member*

Peter W. Rodman, *former director, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State, and National Security Council senior staff member*

Eugene V. Rostow, *Distinguished Fellow, United States Institute of Peace, and former undersecretary of state for political affairs*

Harold H. Saunders, *former assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs*

Harvey Sicherman, *former assistant to the secretary of state and member, Policy Planning Staff, Department of State*

Joseph J. Sisco, *former under secretary of state for political affairs*

Janice Stein, *historian, University of Toronto*

Kenneth W. Stein, *historian, Emory University, advisor to former President Carter (cochairman)*

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Simulating Arab–Israeli Negotiations

As the result of a U.S. initiative and persistent personal mediation by the secretary of state, a comprehensive Middle East Peace Conference was finally convened in Madrid, Spain in October 1991. It launched a complex negotiating process during which Israel would negotiate separately with Syrian, Lebanese, and combined Palestinian–Jordanian delegations. There being no precedent for any formal Syrian–Israeli negotiations and little if any history of secret contact or "prenegotiation" between these two bitter enemies, ways to stimulate a fruitful negotiating process preoccupied U.S. officials.

With quiet encouragement from the Department of State, the Institute mounted a unique, nonofficial simulation exercise modeled on the first actual sessions of the Syrian–Israeli working group. Teams of scholars and former diplomats from Israel, Syria, the United States, and the Soviet Union took roles as members of simulated diplomatic delegations, guided by a "control group" of Institute officials and advisers. The atmosphere was surprisingly realistic and the "negotiations" that ensued were carefully monitored.

The exercise produced a number of important and, in some cases, surprising insights into likely negotiating dynamics. These insights were then fed informally into the real diplomatic process.

UN Role in Constructing Regional Stability

How the United Nations and the international system can respond to future instances of aggression and, in particular, what sort of role the UN might play in promoting long-term stability in the Gulf region are subjects of another study group on Lessons from the Gulf Crisis for Strengthening the United Nations Collective Security System Against Aggression. Other issues addressed include the principles of sovereignty and nonintervention; humanitarian concerns; utility of UN military and civilian observer and peacekeeping missions; ways to strengthen the office of the UN secretary general; and UN support for peacekeeping efforts by regional organizations. Participants include former UN officials, many with direct experience in peacekeeping efforts, and senior diplomats from several UN missions. (See Chapter IV for a full list of participants.)

Grants, Fellows, and Conferences

In addition to these special study groups, elements in the Institute's core programs are important components of the special Middle East program. For example, the 1992 solicited grant competition sought proposals dealing with several areas of Middle East peacemaking: the future course of political and social dynamics in the Arab world; ways to enhance prospects for a peaceful settlement of the Arab–Israeli conflict; the prospects for increased Turkish involvement in Middle East affairs; long-range security requirements in the Persian Gulf region; and possible ways to limit the buildup of conventional and nonconventional weapons in this area.

Meanwhile, several grantees have completed important Middle East projects begun before the Gulf war. For example, through Institute support to the Carnegie Endowment on International Peace, Geoffrey Kemp completed a ground-breaking book, *The Control of the Middle East Arms Race*, which dissects all aspects of the proliferation of high-technology weapons in the region. Kemp focuses new attention on the threat perception of individual states in the region and geographic factors of security and ways they can be addressed through confidence-building measures, supplier control regimes, and other arms control and peacemaking efforts. In addition, under a grant to the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation at the University of California at San Diego, the Institute has been supporting a unique cooperative project involving American, Soviet, Arab, and Israeli scholars. In two international conferences, they have debated differing

approaches to Arab–Israeli peacemaking reflected in a book manuscript by Stephen Speigel entitled *Conflict Management in the Middle East: A View from Four Sides.*

Several fellows selected in 1991 have projects with a Middle East focus. Professor Shimon Shamir, former Israeli ambassador to Egypt, is writing on the role of unofficial contacts between Arabs and Israelis in promoting broader reconciliation. Muhammad Faour, a Lebanese demographer, is examining long-term social and political changes in the Arab world. Professor Don Peretz is analyzing the effects on Palestinian refugees of possible political solutions in the West Bank and Gaza. Sudanese legal scholar Mohamed Khalil is examining the compatibility of traditional Islamic law with contemporary concepts of democracy and human rights.

In June 1991, to lend a regional perspective to its larger working group project on Peace, Security, and Deterrence, the Institute convened a special three-day conference of American, Israeli, and Arab scholars and other experts to discuss Peace and Security Arrangements in the Middle East. The conference addressed several questions relating to the Gulf crisis, including the reasons various diplomatic and military measures failed to deter Iraq from invading Kuwait and evacuating peacefully, and factors that might have deterred Iraq from using chemical or biological weapons and thus escalating the war. Participants also examined Israeli, Syrian, Saudi Arabian, and Iraqi views of deterrence and possible security arrangements for the Eastern Mediterranean, the Gulf, and the Middle East as a whole. The conference proceedings will be published by the Institute in 1992.

A LOOK AHEAD

During fiscal years 1992 and 1993, the Institute will continue this broad approach to Middle East peacemaking, concentrating on publication of prior conference and study group reports and on new activities that are selected after consultation with key officials directly involved in Middle East peacemaking. Additional areas of activity will include further Institute-conducted simulations of various aspects of Arab–Israeli negotiations and a new study group to address the impact of revolutionary upheavals in the republics of former Soviet Central Asia on Turkey, Iran, and other nearby Islamic nations of Southwest Asia. Priority will go to topics of immediate timeliness and policy relevance, as well as to certain longer-term trends that will likely become important factors in peace and stability for the region.

PROMOTING THE RULE OF LAW AND DEMOCRACY IN THE FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS AND EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE

Since its inception, the Institute has devoted attention to issues affecting democratic governance, including the rule of law. In 1990, however, in full appreciation of the historic opportunities posed by democratic changes in the then Soviet Union and Eastern and Central Europe and the potential of the rule of law in promoting peace, the Institute's Board created a Rule of Law Initiative under which special projects would be undertaken and existing programs directed —particularly grants, fellowships, and in-house research and studies—to devote increased attention to this area.

Originally, the Institute emphasized the need to examine a perceived correlation between the democratic or totalitarian nature of a government and its international behavior. Many research findings suggested that a society governed by the rule of law and democratic process is more likely to contribute to international peace than one under an authoritarian or totalitarian regime. This view was affirmed at a historic meeting in Copenhagen in 1990, when the thirty-five nations of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) unanimously declared that "the development of societies based on . . . the rule of law" is a "prerequisite . . . for progress in setting up the lasting order of peace, security, justice and cooperation."

By the end of 1991, much of the Institute's emphasis had shifted to practical issues and problems confronting people in the former Soviet republics and Eastern and Central Europe as they implement democratic reforms. To some in these emerging democracies, many fundamental propositions of the rule of law articulated in the CSCE Copenhagen document are unfamiliar in practice: governmental authority and legitimacy based on the consent of the governed expressed through free elections; government subservience to a constitution and laws created through a public procedure; individual protection and redress against government wrongdoing; independence of the judiciary; equal protection under the law; political parties separate from the state; guarantee of basic freedoms of expression, conscience, religion, peaceful assembly and association, and property. These are among the tenets that many of these countries now struggle to codify and adopt.

Rule of law principles can serve as guideposts for people experiencing political and social trauma in the course of state transformation from authoritarian political systems and centrally planned economies to liberal democracies and market economies. In some instances, they could be the basis for managing long-suppressed ethnic and religious animosities in these societies. Although these problems must be addressed and ultimately solved in the context of domestic politics, it is unquestionable that they can have broader international significance. It is this linkage, including the basic notion that democratic regimes are more inclined toward peaceful international behavior, that is of particular interest to the Institute. For example, in Eastern and Central Europe, one country's progress toward pluralism and democratic reform may provide positive impetus for its neighbors to adopt the same patterns and solve problems in a similar way. The threat of international spillover is especially acute when members of an ethnic community are split among two or more states or when multiethnic states, such as Yugoslavia, begin to break apart.

Selected highlights of the Institute's rule of law activities during 1990 and 1991 follow.

Berliners celebrate the opening of the Berlin Wall.

U.S.–SOVIET SEMINAR ON THE RULE OF LAW

In March 1990, the Institute, working with the Departments of State and Justice, the United States Information Agency (USIA), the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, organized seminars on the rule of law in Moscow and Leningrad. John Norton Moore, then chairman of the Institute's Board, co-chaired the American delegation along with then Associate Attorney General Donald Ayers. Fifteen leading American and Soviet legal scholars and practitioners delivered formal remarks in their respective areas of expertise; over the five days of the seminar, several hundred people attended the sessions and participated in the lively exchanges and discussions that ensued. To permit wide dissemination of the information presented, the Institute commissioned the translation of the American papers and their publication in a single Russian-language volume. With the assistance of USIA, the first copies are scheduled for distribution by Progress Press of Moscow in early 1992.

INVENTORY OF AMERICAN INITIATIVES IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE

The 1989 revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe evoked many dynamic responses from American organizations eager to support the region's political renaissance, but many of these potential resources were not well known in the region. To address this problem, the Institute commissioned A.E. Dick Howard, an expert on

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constitutionalism from the University of Virginia School of Law, to compile an inventory of American public and private institutions engaged in supporting political and legal reforms in Central and Eastern Europe. In early 1991, under contract from the Institute, the University Press of Virginia published Professor Howard's work as *Democracy's Dawn: A Directory of American Initiatives on Constitutionalism, Democracy, and the Rule of Law in Central and Eastern Europe.*

This volume provides information on more than 120 American organizations, including private associations and foundations, legal and academic groups, government agencies, library services, university centers, and interest groups focused on single countries. These organizations offer various forms of technical assistance, exchange programs, conferences, publications, reference services, grants, and expertise. The directory's alphabetical index is supplemented by country and program-area indexes.

The Institute distributed 2,000 free copies of *Democracy's Dawn* in the United States and, with USIA assistance, gave copies to government officials and citizens in Eastern and Central Europe, where it was enthusiastically received. In late 1991, the Institute began working on a similar survey of American programs and resources on the rule of law for the republics of the former Soviet Union and the Baltic states.

Charles Smith (right), Institute general counsel and director of the Rule of Law Initiative, confers with Wallace Warfield (left), professor, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, at Institute conference.

Nadine Strossen, professor, New York Law School, and national president, American Civil Liberties Union, at conference on ethnic conflict resolution.

RULE OF LAW AND ETHNIC CONFLICT RESOLUTION

What do ethnic and cultural rivalries mean for nations now seeking democratic forms and how can they be managed within such a spirit? To what extent can the rule of culture vitiate the rule of law?

These questions gain special immediacy in Central and Eastern Europe, where deep-seated hostilities long dampened by a succession of totalitarian administrations were released by the revolutions of 1989. The resurgence of age-old and seemingly intractable ethnic conflict is clearly affecting the ability of these newly liberalizing states to ensure their citizens' rights and freedoms and also endangers peace and stability in the region.

In June 1991, the Institute convened a three-day conference to expand dialogue among Americans and Europeans concerned with ethnic conflict and innovative solutions based on the rule of law. More than fifty members of parliament, scholars, and civic leaders from every state in Eastern and Central Europe and several ethnic groups were joined by more than 140 experts on the region and the rule of law, along with observers from fifteen CSCE member states.

"We in the United States have made a great deal of headway in recent decades in reducing racial and ethnic intolerance. This change in public attitude came about because moral leadership asserted itself. The tone was set, in many instances, by religious leaders . . . . In Eastern Europe . . . if any group is to come forward to lead the effort toward better interethnic understanding, it will have to be the clergy."

"The goal is clear. It is indeed to teach children to love the people their relatives hate."

Excerpts from the keynote address at conference on *Ethnic Conflict Resolution Under the Rule of Law*, delivered by Richard Schifter, assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs and Institute Board member .

Panel Topics of Conference on Ethnic Conflict Resolution Under the Rule of Law

- **Self-Determination**
- **Federalism and Territorial Devolution**
- **Voting Across Ethnic Lines**
- **Governmental Structures**
- **Mediation and Negotiation**
- **Policies on Language, Education, Religion, and Culture**
- **Constitutionalism**
- **The Role of Religion in Mediating Ethnic Conflict**
- **Affirmative Rights**
- **Judicial Review and an Independent Judiciary**
- **Electoral Systems and Voting Rights**
- **The Lawmaking Process and Parliaments**
- **Executive Powers and Administration**
- **Limits on Government**

The conference presentations and discussions confirmed that no one measure will be a whole answer to the complex web of problems in the area of ethnic conflict, but suggested that some partial solution may be built into the structure of political processes.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin at a protest during the August 1991 coup attempt.

REVIEWING THE RUSSIAN CONSTITUTION

The nature of the government established in the Russian republic will have profound effects on both international and regional stability and domestic freedom and order. Among Boris Yeltsin's many tasks in 1991 was chairmanship of the Constitutional Commission of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, created by the Supreme Soviet in 1990. Long before the cataclysmic events that followed the attempted Soviet coup of August 1991 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union; the Commission was hard at work. In the spring of 1991, a request came from the Commission's secretary, Oleg R. Rumyantsev: Would the United States Institute of Peace arrange a review of the draft constitution by American experts?

The Institute quickly arranged a translation of the draft and invited an interdisciplinary group of seventeen American legal scholars, attorneys,

constitutional experts, and political scientists to review the draft and recommend revisions as they saw fit. The reviewers' comments were sent to the Commission in August 1991 in a 285-page volume, entitled *Comments and Recommendations on the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation*. That volume has since been used and discussed extensively by members of the Constitutional Commission in their effort to produce the fundamental document that will shape the nature of the newly independent Russian state.

GRANTEES AND FELLOWS

Institute grantees and fellows are also conducting projects on the rule of law. One study conducted with Institute grant support began with the premise that Poland's relatively advanced stage in developing local democracy will likely bear significant lessons for other nations emerging from totalitarian regimes. The project is part of a cooperative effort between Rutgers University and the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy, a Polish nonprofit group. It pays special attention to the relation of democratic forms to history and culture; pluralism and the development of pluralist institutions in support of democracy; the nature, role, and functioning of democratic decision making in local government; conflict resolution in democratic local government; and the participation of women in the development of democratic local government.

The Institute's treatment of the rule of law in Russia and Eastern and Central Europe was complemented by the work of economists and diplomats from the region. Two Peace Fellows—Yuri Maltsev, a Soviet economist, and Milan Svec, a Czechoslovakian diplomat—examined prospects for economic and political reforms in Moscow and Eastern and Central Europe. Before coming to the United States, Maltsev was senior researcher at the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, where he worked with a team of leading Soviet economists on President Gorbachev's reforms package. Before receiving political asylum in the United States, Svec was deputy chief of the Czechoslovakian embassy and senior adviser to the minister of foreign affairs. Their insights and firsthand experience in advocating reforms within their former countries were in demand by congressional committees, the media, and civic groups nationwide.

A LOOK AHEAD

In 1992, the Rule of Law Initiative will be broadened to include countries in Africa and elsewhere in the developing world. Individual country reports surveying institutions involved in activities related to the rule of law will assess the need for political and judicial reform and the probable success of any given reform in light of the country's culture and history. These reports will be written by teams of two to three experts—including a scholar in legal systems and an expert on the country concerned. In late 1991, the first team had returned from Ethiopia and another was preparing to depart for Bulgaria. Plans are under way for a third project on changes in the Russian republic.

Another area for future attention is the treatment of former officials of ousted regimes. Issues including the prosecution of former officials under legal rules adopted after alleged illegal acts were committed, judicial independence in a tense and ever-vengeful atmosphere, evidenciary problems and possible limits on due process, and future political participation of these persons have become highly charged in Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, as well as in other regions.

At the general level, the Institute will also be identifying how the elements that make up the rule of law are expressed through various international instruments and other sources of international law. This inquiry will be used to establish common points of reference on the concept and content of the rule of law among government officials, other practitioners, philosophers, and scholars reconstructing their societies after years of totalitarianism.

CHAPTER II
EXPANDING KNOWLEDGE ABOUT INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND PEACEMAKING

American and Soviet participants in the Origins of the Cold War conference meet with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze (top row, fourth from left).

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INTRODUCTION

Much is already known about conflict and peacemaking; much is not. One primary mission of the Institute is the expansion of reliable knowledge about these fields. To perform it, the Institute supports the research of individual grantees and fellows, but it also brings together experienced diplomatic practitioners, other officials, policy analysts, scholars, and experts from many disciplines to examine current or medium-term issues and contribute collectively to a more profound understanding of the processes of war and peace.

Chapter II illustrates how Institute resources are applied under various programs and special initiatives to address particular subjects. A given topic may be the focus of complementary work by grantees, fellows and consultants, and also by groups of experts participating in Institute-organized conferences, working groups, study groups, or seminars. This work generally falls into eight broad categories, as illustrated in this chapter:

- International Conflict Management
- Arms Control and Deterrence
- East–West Relations
- International Organizations and International Law
- Democracy and Domestic Governance
- Religion, Human Rights, and Nonviolence
- Regional and National Conflicts and Regional Security
- Sources of Violence

Chapter II draws on a ***small sampling*** of Institute activities that took place during fiscal years 1990 and 1991.

MAPPING THE TERRAIN OF PEACE

The subject matter of peace is vast; peacemaking and peacekeeping, conflict resolution, rule of law, humanitarian issues, deterrence, and many more topics fall within this area. The Institute's Board of Directors decided early that one of the Institute's first formal projects should be a study of salient approaches to international peace and conflict management. The Board believed that information and insights gathered from a large variety of scholars and practitioners afforded the most reliable way to acquire the guidance necessary to set up Institute programs. Another outcome would be to provide citizens, diplomats, policymakers, and scholars with a better understanding of the various approaches to peacemaking.

The ensuing Intellectual Map Project uncovered both the rich diversity in the field and evidence of confusion and competition among various approaches to peacemaking and lack of communication among schools of thought. Most notably, it highlighted missed opportunities and a communications gap between scholars and practitioners. Diplomats, negotiators, and policymakers sometimes find little utility in the theoretical and historical work of scholars; scholars often denigrate or ignore practitioners' experiences. These findings led the Board to view the project as a means to improve mutually beneficial sharing among practitioners and scholars.

In 1986–88, the Institute organized several colloquia designed to promote discussion and debate about the various schools of thought,

which were concluded by a three-day conference. The final result—*Approaches to Peace: An Intellectual Map*, a volume of papers delivered and discussions held at the conference, edited by Board member W. Scott Thompson and director of research and studies Kenneth M. Jensen—was published by the Institute in 1991. The contents, which draw heavily on observations from people with widely diverse experiences and opinions, are organized in four major areas:

- Traditional approaches, including collective security and deterrence, diplomacy and negotiation, and arms control;
- International law approaches, including interstate organizations and third-party involvement;
- Newer approaches, such as transnationalism, behaviorism, and conflict resolution; and
- Political system approaches.

edited by
W. Scott Thompson and Kenneth M. Jensen
with Richard N. Smith and Kimber M. Schraub

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Armed conflicts, whether between countries or among factions within individual states, kill tens or even hundreds of thousands of people each year. The whys and wherefores of these conflicts are as varied as the cultural, economic, and geographical climates in which they occur.

The Institute is probing the spectrum of ways to limit, resolve, and, in the best of circumstances, prevent violent international conflict. These projects, which involve grants, fellowships, and internally directed studies, are exploring formal diplomacy and negotiations, unofficial diplomacy, mediation, arbitration, interactive dialogues, legal and other institutional mechanisms, and a variety of social and psychological reconciliation processes. Some projects use history as the textbook for today. Others are broader examinations of processes, while still others are distinctly regional in focus.

Grantee Jay Rothman speaks on negotiations during an Institute panel on the Gulf crisis.

When Conflicts Are "Ripe" for De-escalation

A critical element in diplomacy relating to the resolution of international conflict is the determination of when crises are "ripe" for de-escalation. Institute grantees Louis Kriesberg and Stuart J. Thorson of Syracuse University have edited a book entitled *Timing the De-Escalation of International Conflicts*, published by Syracuse University Press in 1991, that focuses on methods to promote de-escalation of conflicts and thus create situations conducive to negotiations on longer term settlements. Kriesberg says the chances for successful de-escalation are not as great for conflicts that have rapidly escalated to widespread violence, compared with conflicts that have been stalemated at a high level of antagonism for an extended period producing some gradual acceptance of the status quo. The study also examines strategies to promote "ripeness" and the consequences of efforts to de-escalate conflicts when supportive conditions are not present.

NEGOTIATIONS

Prenegotiation

With the support of Institute grants, professors Jay Rothman and Gabriel Sheffer of the Leonard Davis Institute of Hebrew University led a project to develop new concepts and training methods in "prenegotiation" techniques. If negotiations commence with the agendas as the topic for discussion, they may never proceed beyond that point, warns Rothman. In his monograph, *A Pre-Negotiation Model: Theory and Training*, he stresses the importance of informal exchanges before formal talks begin: "Based on substantive discoveries about parties' needs and interests derived during conflict-framing efforts. . . the parties can then attempt to specify what will be on and off the agenda of upcoming negotiations." Rothman's work also focuses on promoting "win-win" rather than "win-lose" mind sets prior to actual negotiations.

Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos (left) and rebel leader Jonas Savimbi (right) sign peace accords to end the Angolan civil war as Portuguese Premier Anibal Cavaco Silva (center), who hosted the meeting in Lisbon, looks on.

Overcoming Cultural Differences

Raymond Cohen, a senior lecturer in political science at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, has spent more than a decade studying the role of culture in international relations. As an Institute Peace Fellow, he wrote a book on cultural differences that affected U.S. negotiations with Japan, China, Egypt, India, and Mexico on various issues. Cohen found two quite different models of negotiation: "low context," a predominantly verbal and explicit style typical of the United States and other societies that stress individualism, and "high context," a nonverbal and implicit style more typical of non-Western, more interdependent societies. Based on these findings, Cohen developed ten specific recommendations for overcoming cultural barriers in negotiations. The recommendations highlight the importance of verbal and nonverbal messages, the dynamics of personal relationships, matters of status and face, and an appreciation of interlocutors' bargaining and bureaucratic requirements. His book, *Negotiating Across Cultures: Communication Obstacles in International Diplomacy*, was published by the United States Institute of Peace Press. The book has practical value for diplomats and others involved in international negotiations and has been adopted for use in college courses.

THIRD-PARTY MEDIATION

Different types of conflicts require different mediation techniques. Hugh Miall of the Oxford Research Group used an Institute grant to analyze the methods used to resolve eighty-one cases of intrastate or international armed conflict that occurred between 1945 and 1985. Miall found that international disputes were more often resolved peacefully than intrastate conflicts, and that territorial and resource issues were more easily solved than conflicts involving ethnic issues, minorities, ideology, or struggles for political control. The following suggestions for maximizing chances of peaceful settlements are taken from Miall's monograph, *How Conflicts Were Resolved, 1945–1985*:

- When issues are separated and agreement is reached first on the less contentious issues, momentum is generated toward a settlement.
- A peaceful settlement is more-likely if the disputants can agree on a procedure for resolving the dispute before they confront the issues.
- Sometimes it is conducive to a settlement to let the conflict proceed to a point where the high costs of the conflict become clear.
- Often, intervention by a third-party is most helpful early in a conflict situation.

Costa Rica's role in the settlement of the Central American disputes during the 1980s is the subject of Institute Peace Scholar Jairo Hernandez's doctoral dissertation. Focusing on the peace proposal initiated by former Costa Rican President Oscar Arias, he is examining the tools used in negotiation and third-party mediation, as well as methods of dispute settlement based on public international law.

Basing his work at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, Hernandez is conducting field trips to Costa Rica and other Central American countries for interviews and other research. His dissertation will assess lessons learned about mediation from the Central American peace process and how they might be applied in future peacemaking efforts in the region.

UNOFFICIAL DIPLOMACY

The Many Tracks of Diplomacy

Negotiations that affect international conflicts often go on outside the formal channels of communication between governments and their official diplomatic representatives. The Iowa Peace Institute, in an Institute-supported project directed by its then president, former U.S. ambassador John McDonald, and consultant Louise Diamond, explored the range of unofficial diplomacy applied to international conflict resolution, both as a supplement to formal diplomacy and as a primary peacemaking tool. In a book still in production, *Multitrack Diplomacy: A Systems Guide and Analysis*, they identify and analyze nine tracks of diplomacy, including commerce, interaction among private citizens, civic activism, and education and training. The importance of this inquiry arises from the growing public involvement in international conflict resolution and efforts to complement conventional diplomacy through international understanding and exchange beyond the government-to-government dimension.

Unofficial Contacts between Arabs and Israelis

Almost every morning around dawn, Israeli and Jordanian intelligence officers converge near the Allenby Bridge over the Jordan to exchange newspapers; obviously, it is cheaper and faster for both parties to cooperate in this fashion than to go to Athens or Rome to buy the papers there.

The focus of most research on Arabs and Israelis centers on conflict, but such stories of cooperation and positive interaction should also be told. Supported by an Institute grant, Adam Garfinkle of the Foreign Policy Research Institute examined functional contacts and cooperative interaction between Israelis and Jordanians. Garfinkle reports that "extensive informal arrangements between Jordan and Israel have evolved over the years despite the absence of a formal peace. As a result, the two countries have developed a workable, albeit strained, *modus vivendi*. Some of these arrangements have been sanctioned and negotiated at the highest level; others have emerged from the needs of the day-to-day relations between people living in a small area. High level and low level contacts generally have been mutually reinforcing, the former sanctioning the latter and the latter advancing the former." Contact and cooperation are evident on a wide range of issues, including agriculture, pest control, water conservation, intelligence, navigation, air traffic control, mining, information policy, utilities, banking, and commerce. Garfinkle concluded that these forms of cooperation provide grounds for optimism that personal contacts can contribute to peace on the political level.

Distinguished Fellow Shimon Shamir

One of Israel's foremost experts on the Arab world and Middle East history, Shimon Shamir, is using his position as an Institute Distinguished Fellow to examine the development of people-to-people relationships between Israelis and Egyptians after the Camp David Accords. A professor of Middle Eastern history at Tel Aviv University, Shamir was founding director of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo in 1982–84 and Israel's ambassador to Egypt in 1988–90. He is well-known for his efforts to promote unofficial linkages between Egyptian and Israeli intellectuals, political leaders, scholars, and other profession-

als that have endured for years. During his fellowship year, Shamir is studying how these relationships develop, how they strengthen formal peace agreements, and how similar linkages might promote political reconciliation between Israel and its other Arab neighbors.

DIPLOMATIC PERSUASION

Progress toward peaceful outcomes often requires a mix of both "carrots" and "sticks." One of America's leading scholars of international relations and American foreign policy, Alexander George, is building on his long-time work in diplomacy, crisis management, and policymaking as a Distinguished Fellow at the Institute. George is Graham H. Stuart Professor Emeritus of International Relations at Stanford University. He is expanding his earlier work in "coercive diplomacy" and the application of related case studies to contemporary issues.

George sees coercive diplomacy as "a strategy for dealing with someone who's already stepped on your toes, not with someone who threatens to do so. The objective is to get your opponent to desist through persuasion, offering him an opportunity to cease his aggression before you're compelled to use force." George speaks of four variants of coercive diplomacy:

- Classic ultimatum: The strongest variant, it demands a specific response from the opponent, within a stipulated period of time, and threatens serious consequences for noncompliance.
- Tacit or implicit ultimatum: When a time limit is not stated but a sense of urgency for compliance is otherwise conveyed, it allows a slightly more adaptable position.
- Try-and-see: It conveys a clear demand, but leaves open the time limit and the exact nature of the consequences.
- Gradual tightening of the screw: This approach threatens that pressure will be gradually stepped up.

George's new monograph, *Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War*, is scheduled for publication by the United States Institute of Peace Press in early 1992. It draws conclusions for contemporary diplomacy from six instances of coercive diplomacy: pre-World War II U.S.–Japanese relations; the Laos crisis in 1961–62; the Cuban missile crisis; the bombing of Hanoi in 1965; U.S.–Nicaragua relations in the 1980s; and U.S. measures against Libya in 1985–86.

Fellow Applies Social Economics Theory to Peacemaking

In awarding a fellowship to renowned economist Mancur Olson, professor at the University of Maryland, the Institute made possible an unusual examination of how to apply principles of economics to promoting peace, a subject not usually in the forefront of economic analyses. Olson has written two seminal books, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* and *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities*, and numerous other works on topics as diverse as collective security and agriculture. His analyses of societal problems apply a unique mixture of thinking on sociology, political science, mathematics, and economics. His work has been translated into at least eleven languages.

***The Logic of Collective Action* espouses the theory that members of large groups often have little motivation to work for the group's common good because of the relatively minor personal benefit and the tendency to take advantage of others' efforts by "free-riding." Its publication in 1965 placed Olson in the forefront of a new field integrating political science and economics, one facet of which is now known as "public choice." His reputation led to a subsequent appointment as assistant secretary for social indicators in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.**

Building upon his earlier work on group formation and evolution, as a Distinguished Fellow Olson applied his economic concepts and reasoning to the sources of conflict avoidance and cooperation among nations. During the Gulf crisis, his expertise on social group behavior and economic performance was sought during the national debate on the likely efficacy of economic sanctions and military actions against Iraq. He was consulted by officials in the executive and legislative branches, and his opinion pieces concerning American and international options in coping with post-war Iraq were published in *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *Newsday*.

ARMS CONTROL AND DETERRENCE

The end of the Cold War and subsequent U.S. proposals for significant reduction in tactical nuclear weapons have virtually eliminated the threat of a global nuclear exchange involving the United States. Yet, there are alarming trends—increasing expenditures on sophisticated arms by developing countries, the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons, and evidence that several countries have recently acquired or have the capability to develop nuclear weapons. Thus, regional arms control remains a critical area, to which the Institute is devoting attention.

ARMS RACES AND ESCALATION

Naval arms control, an important, yet often overlooked, aspect of international security systems, is the subject of a project undertaken by Herve Coutau-Bergarie with an Institute grant to the Center for Comparative Political Analysis at the University of Bordeaux. The project will assess past naval disarmament negotiations and the impact of subsequent agreements reached by the parties involved. The merits of negotiating geographic, quantitative, and qualitative limits as binding commitments will be judged against the treaties' respective verification and enforcement records. The conclusions of the study will be published in book form in both English and French and will contain insights and recommendations for approaching naval arms control talks in the future.

Daniel Geller of the University of Mississippi used an Institute grant to study the relationship between the possession of nuclear weapons and crisis escalation. His research results, which were published in the June 1990 issue of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, were based on a statistical analysis of 393 militarized disputes that occurred between 1946 and 1976. Geller's data indicate that "in conflicts between nuclear and non-nuclear states the possession of nuclear weapons has no evident inhibitory effect on the escalation propensities of the non-nuclear opponent." In mixed conflict situations between nuclear and non-nuclear powers, the non-nuclear power tends to act much more aggressively than does its nuclear rival.

Controlling Arms Proliferation in the Third World

What effects do unchecked acquisitions of arms and military expenditures have on security and stability in Third World countries and regions? What new security risks have arisen in various regions and countries as a result of the end of the Cold War? What new approaches and strategies might be developed to address the problem? In May 1991, Institute Distinguished Fellow Bradford Morse convened an all-day meeting of a small group of specialists on these issues.

Morse has extensive experience in domestic and foreign affairs as a former Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, under secretary general of the United Nations, and administrator of the UN Development Program. He is resolved to increase attention to the problem of burgeoning military expenditures by developing nations and convened this meeting to provide the basis for a policy-oriented report tentatively entitled *New Approaches to Arms Control in the Developing World—Problems and Opportunities.*

One participant in the meeting, Michael Klare, director of the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies, examined several promising approaches to controlling arms proliferation, including increasing public information about arms trading through voluntary and mandatory reporting of weapons imports and exports; specifying a technology supplier cartel to control sales of particular types of weapons; establishing a regional supplier cartel to control transfers to or within a particular region; negotiating joint agreements between countries in a particular region to limit their weapons imports; imposing export controls by governments or multigovernmental bodies; and applying measures to control the international narcotics trade and black market arms sales.

Distinguished Fellow Bradford Morse (fifth around clockwise) leads a seminar on arms control in the Third World.

BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONTROLS

Vivid pictures of the mass deaths caused by chemical weapons during the Iran–Iraq war and the constant threat of their use during the Gulf crisis put the fear of such unconventional weapons into the minds of the public worldwide. In 1990, Mark L. Wheelis, of the Department of Microbiology, University of California at Davis, received an Institute grant to analyze past outbreaks of infective and disease producing agents among humans, animals, and crops suspected or alleged to be the result of covert chemical or biological weapons use or production. Wheelis' work also details a proposal for a global epidemiological surveillance program—undertaken under multinational supervision—that would identify the source and location of potential agents of major outbreaks of biological and chemical agents as a means to deter their development for possible use in conflict situations or terrorist acts.

NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION

How can peaceful uses of nuclear energy be promoted, while its use for weaponry is prevented? A global approach to nuclear nonproliferation emerged with the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the associated systems of safeguards administered by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). With extension of the NPT coming up for review at a conference in March 1995, and the possibility that a number of near-nuclear weapon states will not agree to its conditions, the examination of regional alternatives conducive to maintaining nonproliferation is increasingly important.

Tariq Rauf, of the Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament, is using an Institute grant to examine regional deterrence dynamics, arms control, and confidence- and security-building measures as they apply to South Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and South

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Ambassador Paul Nitze delivers the keynote address at a session of the Institute working group on Peace and Deterrence after the INF Agreement.

Africa—four regions with near-nuclear states that are unlikely to adhere to the NPT. The project involves Canada's principal specialists on nuclear nonproliferation and a number of other leading strategists. It focuses on the policies of the threshold states under study and indicates the types of regional efforts that would encourage them to adhere to the NPT and otherwise bolster nonproliferation efforts.

In a similar vein, Jack Barkenbus of the University of Tennessee used an Institute grant to complete an article entitled "Arms Control Verification: A Role for the IAEA," in which he concludes that "the choice is not verification or trust, but verification to create trust." He believes that multilateral treaties should be monitored or verified by multilateral institutions, most logically the IAEA, "which possesses both the legitimacy and the tools to expand its role from nonproliferation to arms control verification." The best match of IAEA capabilities and verification needs would be the monitoring of a fossil fuel production ban. According to Barkenbus, however, the IAEA could not assume that expanded responsibility without additional financial resources; the agency would also need to dispense with its other mandate of technical assistance and focus exclusively on the safeguarding function.

DETERRENCE

Military deterrence of inter-state conflict came under scrutiny with the agreement on intermediate-range nuclear forces, the START Treaty, the prospect of deep reductions of conventional forces in Europe, the breakup of the Soviet Union, and the aggressive international behavior of some Third World regimes.

An Institute working group on Peace and Deterrence after the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Agreement brought together leading experts and former officials to address such topics as the assumptions and definitions of deterrence as a theory, questions about its conventional and low-intensity applications, the status of nuclear deterrence between the United States and the Soviet Union, the role of deterrence in preventing regional conflicts and promoting security, and the legal and moral ramifications of and possible alternatives to deterrence. The working group held five two-day sessions in 1990 and 1991.

To complement the working group's treatment of longer term doctrinal issues, three sessions addressed timely issues raised by rapid changes in perceptions on peace, deterrence, and security in Europe, the Pacific Basin, and the Middle East.

EAST–WEST RELATIONS

The events of 1990 and 1991 have thrown long-standing assumptions about East–West relations into turmoil and cast doubt on the further utility of "East–West" as a geographical and political demarcation. The Institute moved rapidly during these two years to apply to this area of critical change analysis, research, discussion-generating conferences, and timely publications. Some activities were highly topical, such as work on the new European security structures, especially the Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe, and the fundamental changes in the republics of the former Soviet Union and Eastern and Central Europe. Others looked to the past, such as an Institute-sponsored conference that brought together more than two dozen American and Soviet historians to exchange views on lessons from diplomacy, personalities, and public perceptions of the early Cold War era.

ADAPTING TO NEW EUROPEAN SECURITY NEEDS

A promising aspect of the new dynamic of European security is the growing interest in the relationship between security systems and human rights—an interest that has a natural home in a heretofore low-visibility institution, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which came into being with the signing of the Helsinki Accords in 1975. Signatory countries, including all North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and former Warsaw Pact members, agreed to honor specific standards of human rights for people within their borders.

The breakup of the Soviet Union and the collapse of communism in Eastern and Central Europe have resulted in new roles and challenges for CSCE and its thirty-eight member states. Beyond a more vigorous assertion of its human rights mandates, it is now being called upon to provide a framework to address European security issues. How this organization can play a positive role in shaping the future of Europe's social, political, and security environments is of great interest to the Institute.

One promising project has been undertaken by Vojtech Mastny, at the Bologna Center of the Johns Hopkins University (Bologna, Italy), who used an Institute grant to analyze and document CSCE's history and its role in the recent changes in Europe from the period of the 1986 Helsinki follow-up conference in Vienna, Austria. His book, *The Helsinki Process and Reintegration of Europe: Analysis and Documentation, 1986–1990*, should be completed by early 1992.

A broader examination of Europe's future occurred in a February 1990 seminar led by three Institute fellows, who, along with other specialists, debated a range of alternative security architectures for Europe. Distinguished Fellow Ambassador Max van der Stoel—former minister for foreign affairs and permanent representative to the United Nations for the Netherlands—was examining possible future roles for NATO. Peace Fellow Milan Svec, who had served earlier as deputy chief of the Czechoslovakian embassy in Washington and as a foreign policy adviser in Prague, was studying the decline of Marxist–Leninist ideology and related changes in foreign policies of the Soviet Union and several Eastern European countries. Peace Fellow Lily Gardner Feldman, a professor from Tufts University, focused on the European Community (EC) and the dynamics of European unification.

Van der Stoel addressed the issue of reforming NATO to meet the needs of the "new Europe," while Svec and Gardner Feldman spoke on the possibility of expanded security roles for the the EC and CSCE to complement NATO and other security structures. The fellows' presentations

Vasil Tupurkovski, Macedonian member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, speaks about peace and stability in his country at an Institute gathering on that subject.

"The Current Soviet Crisis"

In anticipation of dramatic, sometimes fast-breaking events such as the August 1991 attempted coup in the Soviet Union, the Institute convened public workshops on "The Current Soviet Crisis" to assess the turn of events in the Soviet Union stemming from the upheaval created by the decline of communism and the breakup of the Soviet empire. One workshop in February 1990 focused on whether the Soviet Union itself would be the next Communist "domino" to fall to liberalization and democracy. A consensus that it surely would was articulated by the panelists, several of whose opinions on the coming character of Soviet decline were sought after in the months ahead.

A February 1991 workshop was held just after Soviet repression of Baltic separatism and just before the popular vote on Gorbachev's resolution to retain the union. Participants were again in consensus in asserting that the repression of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania was half-hearted, though sporadically brutal, and a sign of the growing weakness rather than revived strength of Soviet conservatives. They also held that the resolution, even if widely supported (as it turned out to be), would be the first of a series of insufficient initiatives on the part of the center to preserve the union. Participants recognized a trend that culminated in August 1991 of increasingly futile attempts to revive "the union that failed."

at the seminar—revised to consider the current conflict in Yugoslavia and the August 1991 Soviet coup—will be published by the Institute in a volume tentatively entitled *Promoting Peace in Post-Cold War Europe: European Views on the Roles of NATO, CSCE, and the EC.*

Study Group on Prospects for Conflict or Peace in Eastern and Central Europe

As the countries of Eastern and Central Europe regained their independence from Soviet hegemony, the specter of instability hung over these emerging democracies. If the West would welcome the adoption of democratic practices and market economics, it must do so actively. The national values of the United States—freedom and justice, equality and economic opportunity—and its unexpected influence in the region confer particular responsibilities upon it. These were some of the conclusions from the Institute's report on a 1989–90 study group on Eastern and Central Europe conducted by the Institute in cooperation with the U.S. Department of State, comprising more than fifty American scholars, diplomats and policymakers, and other experts, as well as people from the region with intimate knowledge of the changing political situation there. The group met half a dozen times from October 1989 to January 1990 to assess conditions, as they stood then, well enough to foresee possible conflicts over the next three to five years, and to draw implications for U.S. policy options.

Identifying Yugoslavia as the country most endangered by internal ethnic strife, members of the study group cautioned against expecting that stability there could be quickly or easily achieved—as events in Yugoslavia and elsewhere have subsequently demonstrated. The study group's final report said it was important for the United States to urge these societies to implement change and majority rule with an equal enthusiasm for the rule of law, government accountability to citizens, constitutionalism, individual rights, pluralism, and represen-

Soviet and American participants in the Origins of the Cold War conference at a National Press Club session.

tative institutions. Where ethnic hatreds and nationalism resurge, the United States must be prepared to help by acknowledging the deep-seated nature of these old enmities, supporting multilateral mediation efforts where it cannot act directly, and continuing to link human rights performance to policy decisions.

EARLY LINKAGES WITH "NEW THINKERS" IN THE SOVIET UNION

In 1992, the world may already be accustomed to open and honest dealings with officials in Moscow and other former Soviet republics. In 1989, however, when the Institute began a relationship with the Research Coordination Center of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, there was only a glimmer of the fundamental changes that would transform the Soviet Union two years later. Then Foreign Affairs Minister Eduard Shevardnadze had established the Center to inject "new thinking" into Soviet foreign policy through, among other things, a more accurate and honest interpretation of Soviet foreign policy history and informal and formal dialogues among Soviet diplomats, scholars, and international experts in similar areas.

Conference on the Origins of the Cold War

Through the good offices of Institute Board member and assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs Richard Schifter, officials at the Center expressed interest in cooperating with the Institute in several areas. One proposal was for a joint examination of the early Cold War period designed to dispel historical misperceptions about the crucial period of 1945–50 and to build more open and frank relationships among American and Soviet scholars and institutions concerned with the general questions of East–West relations. The result was conferences in June and July of 1990 in Moscow and Washington, sponsored by the Institute and the Center, at which more than two dozen American and Soviet scholars and senior officials exchanged differing interpretations of lessons from diplo-

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Origins of the Cold War conference participants (from left to right), Konstantin Pleshakov, Igor Orlik, Gaddis Smith, and Vladimir Sokolov.

macy, personalities, and public perceptions of the early Cold War period. It was one of the first joint efforts to see the origins of the Cold War in a clear light. (See Chapter IV for a full list of participants.)

Discussions were lively, and areas of consensus emerged. For example, there was an agreement of sorts that some type of conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union might have been inevitable in the postwar years. Although the delegations offered multicausal explanations of the shape that the conflict finally took, most conceded Stalin's central role in shaping the confrontation. The debate was, however, sometimes sharp on specific issues—the diplomacy of Yalta and Potsdam, the policy implications of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's death, the Soviet imposition of pliant regimes throughout Eastern and Central Europe, the Marshall Plan, the postwar Stalinist purges, and McCarthyism among them.

Interest in the conferences was high among officials in both governments. In Moscow, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze was briefed on

Highlights from Origins of the Cold War Conference

Moscow

- **Three days of discussions among participants**
- **Meeting with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze**
- **Meeting with Presidential Counselor Evgenii Primakov**
- **Press conferences at the Novosti Press Agency and the U.S. Embassy**

Washington

- **Two days of discussions among participants**
- **Meeting with Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger**
- **Briefing at the National Archives hosted by Archivist of the United States Donald Wilson**
- **Visit to the Library of Congress hosted by Librarian of Congress James Billington**
- **Press conference at the National Press Club (broadcast on C-SPAN television)**
- **Luncheon on Capitol Hill hosted by The Center for Democracy**
- **Addresses by Ambassador Paul H. Nitze and former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford**

The Novikov Telegram

Among the most interesting Soviet Foreign Ministry documents to be released is the so-called "Novikov Telegram" of 1946. Written by Nikolai Novikov, then ambassador to the United States, and transmitted to Moscow in September 1946, the cable has been compared with the well-known "long telegram" sent by U.S. Ambassador George F. Kennan to Washington in February of that year.

When, in the course of the Origins of the Cold War conferences, Soviet officials first disclosed the existence of the Novikov telegram, it was obvious that, although comparable in length and timing, it otherwise differed substantially from the Kennan telegram. The latter is a personal analysis of the basic character of a regime, while the Novikov document is an assessment of U.S. policy in the postwar period written as if it were going to be passed directly to Soviet propagandists for immediate use.

The Novikov telegram was later published by the Soviet Foreign Ministry in its journal *Vestnik*, in whose historical section the secret Nazi–Soviet documents of 1939 were revealed. The Institute published the first translation into English, along with the Kennan telegram and a cable sent from Frank Roberts, chargé d'affaires of the British embassy in Moscow, to the Foreign Office in London, in a volume entitled, *Origins of the Cold War: The Kennan, Novikov, and Roberts 'Long Telegrams' of 1946.*

The collection of all three telegrams in one volume provides a useful reference piece for historians, students, and others interested in the evolution of U.S.–Soviet relations after World War II, a relationship that dominated virtually every aspect of international affairs for forty years. The publication has been adopted for use in courses at colleges and universities across the country.

the conference by both delegations and praised the exercise as an essential step in the evolution of a new Soviet view of history and the rest of the world. Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger had a similar meeting with both delegations in Washington.

Another major purpose of the project was to generate new U.S. and Soviet scholarship on the decisive events from 1945 to 1950 that transformed the relationship from wartime allies to superpower antagonists. The conferences were conducted at the same time as a debate among Soviet officials about instituting open and formal procedures for declassifying and releasing documents in the Soviet Foreign Ministry archives. Access to even innocuous Soviet records was virtually closed, and there was no legal basis for the release of government records. The ground-breaking nature of the conferences was apparent when Soviet participants were granted special access to materials in the files of the Foreign Ministry. Subsequently, the Soviet parliament, with Minister Shevardnadze's strong support, passed a liberalization decree that promised increased access to other Soviet scholars and to American scholars. Perhaps this is the end of what conference participant Gaddis Smith, Larned Professor of History at Yale University, called "diplomatic history of the most parochial sort, the history of one hand clapping."

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

The rejuvenation of the United Nation's potential to contribute to international peace and cooperation was an important by-product of the end of the Cold War. With the major powers agreeing more than disagreeing about regional conflicts and the UN Security Council assuming more of a leadership role, as evidenced by its commitment to reverse the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and to support the dispatch of peacekeeping forces to conflict areas around the world, multinational efforts in peacemaking will likely continue to grow in importance. Such efforts must be grounded in legal precepts and processes of an international system that does not tolerate aggression and that provides states with recourse to settle conflicts without violence.

Institute projects are addressing several important areas, including ways to expand the overall effectiveness of the UN, especially its peacemaking and peacekeeping functions, and how to strenghten the international legal system to respond to the challenges of increasingly complex relationships and potential conflicts among peoples and states.

STRENGTHENING THE UNITED NATIONS

Increased effectiveness of the UN role in peacekeeping, arbitration, and human rights protection was the subject of a grant to the Center for UN Reform Education and the

UN peacekeeping forces on duty in Cyprus.

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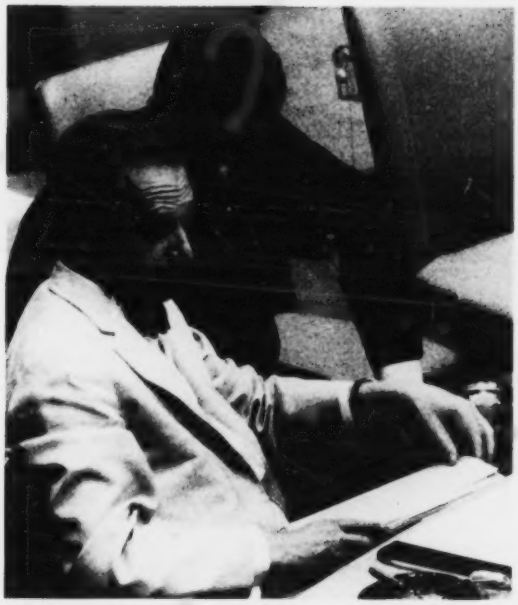


UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld confers with military advisor Indar Rikhye in 1960.

World Federalist Association. The author of a subsequent monograph, Joseph Preston Baratta, concluded that UN troops should engage other forces only in exceptional circumstances, such as self-defense, and should continue to prevail by relying on their political and legal standing and international endorsement of their presence. The monograph also argues that a permanent standby peacekeeping force is impractical, but that provisions should be made for the development of peacekeeping reserves in national armed forces of UN members. The deployment of a UN peacekeeping force should be accompanied by mandatory negotiations between the disputing parties, under the sponsorship of the secretary general, according to Baratta. He adds that peacekeeping forces can also be used effectively for more than their traditional role of supervising cease-fires, including reestablishment of law and order after cessation of conflicts and supervision of elections and referenda.

The United Nations Association USA used an Institute grant to convene a conference of Japanese and American scholars and officials to discuss the current and future role of Japan in

An Expert Speaks on Peacekeeping

Few persons know more about UN peacekeeping than Maj. Gen. (Ret.) Indar Jit Rikhye, a Visiting Distinguished Fellow at the Institute. General Rikhye was military adviser to Secretaries-General Dag Hammarskjöld and U Thant and participated in UN peacekeeping missions in the Congo, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Gaza, Egypt, West Iran, Cyprus, Yemen, and Israel–Jordan. His fellowship was aimed at distilling his extensive experience in writing and through participation in several Institute study groups and conferences.

During an interview by the Institute's *Journal* in June 1991, General Rikhye was asked what major lessons he had learned from his own experience. He responded:

> **The major problems in my experience come down to two. First, the command and control situation must be properly empowered, very strong, and under tough control. In the Congo something like forty countries were involved, and, as a member of the high command, I'd be the first to say that the situation was never satisfactory. In a sense, we were still moving from the "observer" concept toward the peacekeeping concept, and the typical senior UN military officer used for observer missions was not always qualified for operational command of troops.**
>
> **The second lesson comes out of the first. "Maintaining law and order" can become something not easily distinguishable from combat, as it did in the Congo when all sorts of groups factionalized and went after one another. UN peacekeeping troops must be prepared, in civil war situations, to carry out policing responsibilities—that is a polite way of saying they must be willing to use force when necessary. . . .**

As a fellow, General Rikhye continued work on a book delineating ways to make the role of the Security Council in UN peacekeeping operations more effective, drawing largely on his firsthand experience. He also directed a study group on peacekeeping lessons from the Persian Gulf, a component of the Institute's special Middle East initiative, and participated in a pilot training program for leaders of peacekeeping contingents and in several negotiation simulations.

the UN. Participants concluded that, given Japan's emerging domestic consensus for a more visible international political role, the international community should be prepared for Japan to play a broader leadership role in the UN, short of a permanent seat on the Security Council. The conferees agreed that if the UN does not recognize Japan's role as a major economic and political player, it risks Tokyo's seeking alternate fora and mechanisms for asserting itself and addressing international issues. Given that Japan's principal interest is in economic and social issues, Japan has an opportunity to play a leadership role in mitigating the economic sources of regional conflicts through increased financial support for UN economic and social development activities.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

During his year as a Peace Fellow at the Institute, Ibrahim Wani produced the main portions of a book addressing the question of recourse to the International Court of Justice in resolving international disputes. A former legal officer for the Uganda Mission to the UN, Wani is an assistant professor of international law at the School of Law of the University of Missouri, Kansas City. Among other things, his study found that Third World nations are using the court more frequently than before, especially to settle disputes among themselves. Wani's book is one of the first to look closely at the renewed viability of the court as a key venue for dispute resolution in the post-Cold War era. While noting that some international disputes are best addressed through international political processes, Wani is also identifying the sorts of issues for which the court could be particularly effective.

Professor Michael Reisman of Yale Law School, drawing on material from his work with the Institute's working group on Low-Intensity Conflict, prepared a 206-page paper on "Covert Uses of Coercion Abroad: Practices, Contexts, and Policies in International and American Law." Reisman offered several suggestions for the U.S. government's conduct of covert operations. Among them are the following:

- Try to accomplish overtly what subordinates propose to do covertly.
- Never say the government will never do things covertly.
- An act accomplished covertly should be overtly lawful.
- When the educative or informative function of a strategy is important, the ultimate implementation of the strategy should not be covert.
- In contemplating any covert operation, assume that it will become public knowledge much sooner than the government would like.

Reisman's views were presented orally and in draft form to the Institute's working group and have since been expanded. His work will be published by Yale University Press.

DEMOCRACY AND DOMESTIC GOVERNANCE

An activist in the Chinese democracy movement faces army tanks during demonstrations in Beijing in 1989.

At few times in modern history has the notion of the rule of law and participatory self-governance been more timely. Consequently, never has the need been greater to understand the relationship between the nature of countries' political systems and their international behavior and what lessons history offers the United States and other nations seeking to promote democracy around the world.

Some of the Institute's activities in the area of rule of law and democracy building are explained in Chapter I. Following are a number of other research projects that have explored, among many things, the correlation between democracies and peace on the one hand and the use of aggressive force on the other; the transition from authoritarian to democratic regimes; the interrelationships of peace, democracy, and economic development; and the prospects for democracy as a factor in peaceful outcomes of modern conflicts.

DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

The Institute's work in this area examines the nexus between democratic governance and peace, focusing on practical ways to apply democracy in key problem areas around the world.

One example is the work of Robert Rothstein, professor of political science at Colgate University. With an Institute grant to study democratization in the Third World, he wrote a paper

Institute grantee Diane E. Davis is examining political change in Mexico.

entitled "Weak Democracy and the Prospects for Peace and Prosperity in the Third World," which he presented at an Institute conference on Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War Third World. He argues that the relationship between democracy and peace is not always obvious:

> It is perhaps equally probable . . . that weak democracies in a difficult environment may generate more domestic and international conflict, that they may not produce greater prosperity or greater equity or greater support for U.S. values or interests, and that they may or may not be stable . . . . A good deal of the uncertainty about likely results has to do with the obvious fact that regime-type is only one factor among many that affect behavior. Nevertheless, it is worth reemphasizing that the failures of (most) authoritarian regimes have become so apparent that support for weak democracies that produce uncertain outcomes may still be justified or preferable—if done cautiously with a sense of the risks *and* the responsibilities.

Rothstein was later selected as a Peace Fellow to work on a book about why democracies have survived and stabilized in certain developing countries, such as Costa Rica, India, and Jamaica, but not in others.

The struggle between the middle class and the ruling party over the character of democratic institutions has also brough political change to Mexico. A study undertaken by Diane E. Davis with an Institute grant to the New School for Social Research in New York explores the Mexican middle class as the pivotal group that may well determine the country's political future in terms of its maturing democracy, rule of law, and international policies.

If democratic regimes are more likely to act within the boundaries of accepted international behavior than those whose power is derived from intimidation and fear, the same can be said of their domestic behavior. One Institute grantee, Rudolph J. Rummel of the University of Hawaii, has carried out extensive research on violence used by regimes against their own citizens, including a systematic analysis of causes and conditions and a wide-ranging survey of genocide and mass killings. In this century, according to Rummel, three times as many people have been killed in government-ordered killings as in international, revolutionary, and guerrilla wars. The first book produced as part of Rummel's research is *Lethal Politics: Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder Since 1917*, in which Rummel estimates that 61,911,000 people died at the hands of totalitarian regimes in the former Soviet Union.

DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Institute recognizes that economic growth and development, including the aftermath of devastating conflicts and the outcome of transitions from centrally planned to free market economies, can be essential components in developing democratic political systems and a more peaceful international system.

In the interest of promoting the reconstruction of countries torn by wars, the Overseas Development Council used an Institute grant to produce a book, edited by Anthony Lake, entitled *After the Wars: Reconstruction in Afghanistan, Indochina, Central America, Southern Africa, and the Horn of Africa*. The book warns the

Peace Fellows Hurst Hannum and Ruth Lapidoth at session on self-determination.

Peace Fellow Studies Group Autonomy Within Larger State Entities

How to meet demands by ethnic and regional groups for a greater degree of self-determination and political control without formal secession has become one of the critical issues of the post-Cold War era; however, there has been little analysis of actual cases on the topic. The Institute supported a study of both the potential and the limits of autonomy by Peace Fellow Ruth Lapidoth, professor of law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Lapidoth's work covers the meaning of autonomy for certain groups or regions within a state; the history of autonomy in imperial and colonial territories; modern-day experiences with forms of autonomy in Eritrea, Sudan, Puerto Rico, Corsica, Spain, Greenland, and Iraq; and the particular issue of Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank. Her work probes the factors that gave birth to autonomy in the cases studied and possible applications to other conflicts.

superpowers against losing interest in countries after conflicts wind down and, in some cases, their military assistance ends. Given that in many cases countries have had limited economic development and experience in popular political participation, the authors argue that the principal problem is often one of construction rather than reconstruction, and of building rather than rebuilding, both politically and economically. This requires heavy investments in training, transportation systems, resettlement of refugees, agricultural development, and rural public health. The authors recommend that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund push their economic stabilization programs with caution and sensitivity. They further advocate that funds from scaled-down military assistance by the superpowers be used for economic assistance in war-devastated regions. In addition, a broader aid effort could be organized in the form of an International Fund for Reconstruction, which could be combined with debt relief. Receipt of such aid could reasonably be conditioned on continued adherence to peace agreements, the observance of human rights, and maintenance of certain standards of fiscal integrity.

RELIGION, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND NONVIOLENCE

Pluralistic societies, even those firmly rooted in democratic traditions, face great challenges in protecting individual and collective liberties among populations with different ethnic identities, religious beliefs, and political orientation. Regimes that deny broad political participation often suppress such liberties and use other forms of intimidation to maintain their position of power. No examination of ways to create a peaceful world is complete without considering religion, protection and denial of human rights, and nonviolent thought.

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR AND PEACE

In order to compare Western and Islamic religious and legal attitudes toward war and peace, James Turner Johnson of Rutgers University and John Kelsay of Florida State University convened a series of seminars with Institute grant support. The seminar participants focused on the relation of religious ideology to international conflict and on the possibilities for limiting armed conflict provided by the "just war" tradition in the West and by Islamic religious and legal thought. In an edited volume of the proceedings, Turner and Kelsay found that "the traditions of the Islamic world and those of Western culture share concerns that can be classified within the categories of just war [doctrine]." They discovered striking parallels in thinking on who may legitimately initiate hostilities and how they may be contained and controlled. There is even similar thinking developed during the formative stages of each tradition, such as favoring the use of force for extending the faith. Both traditions, with time, came to limit resort to arms to defensive purposes, but only in the West was force eventually disassociated from promoting religion.

RELIGION AND NATIONALISM

In 1990, as its first major effort to examine the role of religion in international conflict, the Institute initiated a study of religious or other forms of intolerance as sources of social and political conflict. The initiative is entitled the working group on Religion, Ideology, and Peace. The twenty-member working group of academics, international legal and human rights experts, and religious practitioners and representatives are contributing to the study, which is based on conferences focusing on religion and nationalism in Ukraine, Sri Lanka, Lebanon, Sudan, Nigeria, Tibet, and Israel. The working group, together with invited speakers, special guests, area experts, and interested members of the public, participate in the sessions, providing informed comment and discussion for each of the cases studied. (For members of the working group and other participants, see Chapter IV.)

The United Nation's "Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief"—adopted by the UN General Assembly in November 1981—provides the basis for the study. In its preamble, the UN declaration states that "the disregard and infringement of human rights and fundamental freedoms of thought, conscience, religion or whatever belief, have brought. . .wars and great suffering to mankind." It further declares that the General Assembly is "convinced that freedom of religion and belief should. . . contribute to the attainment of the goals of world peace, social justice and friendship among peoples." The declaration clearly states that all forms of basic belief, not just religious belief, should be explicitly protected, and that people should not be punished or discriminated against on the basis of their beliefs—whether or not those beliefs have their basis in religion.

Participants in the Institute working group on religion and nationalism (from left to right) Elliot Sperling, Mark Juergensmeyer, and John Kelsay.

With the UN document as its guide, the working group is examining:

- How and why certain religious and similar beliefs create or contribute to hostility and conflict; and
- How and why they cause discrimination and persecution.

In addition, the study will address the prospects and techniques for modifying and ameliorating conflicts that involve religious and similar loyalties and commitments, asking:

- How stable arrangements of mutual respect and forbearance occur; and
- What resources—within and outside of traditions of belief—encourage "peaceful pluralism," thereby preventing differences in basic outlook from leading to mistreatment, abuse, and violence.

By the close of fiscal year 1991, individual conferences on Ukraine, Sri Lanka, and Lebanon had been conducted. Treatment of Nigeria, Sudan, Tibet, and Israel is scheduled in fiscal year 1992. Each event will result in a report on the country or area covered. The first report, *Ukraine: Legacy of Intolerance*, by Institute Senior Scholar David Little, was published by the Institute in December 1991. It concluded that age-old religious and ethnic divisions in Ukraine threaten to undermine public aspirations for a pluralistic society. The report argues that ameliorating the hostility among the adherents of three prominent faiths—Russian Orthodox, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox, and Ukrainian Catholic—is essential for an orderly transition to an independent and democratic society. Nevertheless, while entrenched prejudices and hostilities pose serious obstacles, encouraging efforts on the part of religious and political leaders give promise of creating a new Ukrainian political system that respects religious diversity.

HUMAN RIGHTS/ HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS

After World War II, migrant workers from Southern Europe and Northern Africa came in great numbers to Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, The Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland. The degree to which migrant groups were successfully assimilated affected greatly the political stability of these countries—then and now. Supported by an Institute grant, Rosemarie Rogers of Tufts University is studying the patterns and extent of the assimilation of migrants and refugees in these six host countries as a prelude to analyzing the current potential for ethnic conflict in each. Attention will also be given to strategies for conflict resolution, enhancing migrants' integration into the host countries, and voluntary returns.

Nonviolence and Society

A veteran of the civil rights movement, anti-Vietnam War activities, disarmament efforts, and the anti-apartheid movement, Peace Fellow Walter Wink has been a member of the faculty of Auburn Theological Seminary since 1975. His work as a Biblical scholar has focused on the relationship between traditional religious concerns and contemporary social, political, and economic issues.

As a Peace Fellow, Wink has considered the Biblical foundations of a nonviolent philosophy, the effectiveness of nonviolent methods in social change, religious communities' contributions to social change, and the spiritual disciplines necessary to become a nonviolent person. This work will be incorporated into the third volume of a trilogy entitled *Engaging the Powers: Discernment and Resistance in a World of Domination*. Wink has returned to teaching and continues to conduct workshops with ministers on the scriptural roots of nonviolence.

REGIONAL AND NATIONAL CONFLICTS AND REGIONAL SECURITY

The study of conflict in the contemporary world poses daunting tasks to the policymaker and analyst alike: How does one categorize conflict in a manageable way that lends itself to effective analysis?

One way is to use many different approaches to examine conflicts, and that is what the Institute did in convening a conference on Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War Third World, held in 1990 in Washington, D.C. More than ninety experts on various aspects of regional conflicts, most of whom were grantees, fellows, or research project participants, and more than 200 audience participants gathered for the three day conference. Some of the presentations made at the event will appear in a forthcoming Institute volume. (For a schedule of the conference, see Chapter IV.)

Another, far more common, way is to examine specific conflicts in various regions of the world, while acknowledging that such conflicts are often intertwined. The Institute's Middle East-related activities are highlighted in Chapter I. Brief descriptions of representative Institute activities in four other regions—Africa, South and East Asia, and Latin America—follow in this chapter. During the period under review, the Institute's ongoing interest in the role that regional organizations can play in creating more stability and peace received increasing attention.

AFRICA

The evolution of change in southern Africa sends messages of both great hope and caution. The political transition that occurred a decade ago in Zimbabwe has parallels and dissimilarities to that currently under way in South Africa. With Institute grant support, Professor James Kamusikiri of California State Polytechnic University at Pomona is writing a book on what lessons learned from the Zimbabwe experience

Representative Stephen Solarz delivers the keynote address, "Cambodia: Peace at Last!," at conference on Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War Third World.

can be applied to the broadening political participation in South Africa. Of particular interest to Kamusikiri is the role of external mediators in the Zimbabwe case and consideration of the potential value of external involvement of a similar kind in South Africa negotiations.

Armed conflict has plagued the Horn of Africa—Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, and Sudan—for a longer period and in a more devastating fashion than any other part of Africa. Professor Christopher Mitchell of George Mason University used an Institute grant to analyze the conflict resolution initiatives undertaken in conflicts involving the peoples of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, and Sudan from 1960 to 1989. In an article entitled "Intra-National Mediation: Person or Process? Alternative Models of Third Party Involvement in Protracted Internal Conflicts," he assesses mediation processes and then applies his analysis to two Sudanese cases.

Mitchell concludes that the notion that some mediation efforts are successful and others unsuccessful is misleading, as many so-called failed efforts often make important contributions to the total process. The "successful"

effort is usually a culmination of the process to which several actors have contributed, including those involved in apparent "failures." Mitchell observes that, generally, mediation processes have proceeded on "an almost totally ad hoc basis" depending more on chance than on careful planning by an actor orchestrating the total process. He concludes that this lack of planning and coordination, what he calls "randomness," helps explain the low success rate of most mediation initiatives in the Horn of Africa.

In writing a book entitled *The Horn of Africa: From War to Peace* (MacMillan 1991), Paul Henze, a former U.S. diplomat, used an Institute grant to focus on ingredients to bring peace to the Horn. "It is clear from the history of the past decade that no government in Khartoum can impose its will on southern Sudan; no government in Addis Ababa can subdue Eritrea or Tigre by force; no government in Mogadishu can compel the inhabitants of northern Somalia to follow its dictates." New leaders in the Horn must try to convince alienated regions and ethnic groups that they can benefit from remaining part of the larger country. To do so, leaders may have to concede de facto autonomy to disaffected regions and adopt principles of federalism as the basis for national survival.

Thomas Akhijbe Imobighe, commissioner of the National Boundary Commission in his native Nigeria, has significant firsthand knowledge of conflicts in Africa, having devoted his efforts at the Commission to managing conflicts among communities in Nigeria and teaching political science at Bendal State University. As an Institute Peace Fellow, he is comparing the Organization of African Unity (OAU) with the Organization of American States (OAS) as regional actors that might be more assertive and useful in resolving intractable regional disputes. Although both organizations have unique histories and structures, the experience of each should provide useful insights for regional peacemaking in other parts of the world.

Rebel forces capture a government tank during fighting in Mogadishu, Somalia.

SOUTH ASIA

Vernon Mendis was Sri Lanka's high commissioner to Canada and later to the United Kingdom, ambassador to France, and director general of the Ministry of External Affairs. As an Institute Peace Fellow, he studied the South Asian Association for Regional Conflict (SAARC), one of the newest and least known regional organizations. Mendis believes that with maturation and an enhanced reputation that only comes with time, SAARC can be a useful forum to promote cooperation among India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, and the Maldive Islands. Cooperation on environmental, scientific, health, and economic matters, says Mendis, can pave the way for successes on the political front, including easing of serious political tensions and potential military flash points among members. Under his fellowship, Mendis completed a monograph, *SAARC: Origins, Organisation, and Prospects*, which was published by the Indian Ocean Centre for Peace Studies in Australia.

EAST ASIA

The Pacific Forum of the Center for Strategic and International Studies used an Institute grant to convene a workshop of scholars and policy analysts from twenty research institutes in the Asia–Pacific region to assess the emerging social, economic, security, and political trends in the region and to develop an agenda for collaborative research. Economics was

Experts Gather for Sessions on Capitol Hill

Security issues in Northeast Asia, particularly the new balance created by diminished Soviet influence, is the subject of a grant project conducted by the National Bureau of Asian and Soviet Research in Seattle. The project's results were brought directly to members of Congress and their staffs, and other experts in the field in a presentation held in the Dirksen Senate Office Building in September 1991. In the aftermath of the attempted August coup in Moscow, Herbert Ellison and Donald Hellmann of the National Bureau addressed Japanese–Soviet relations and concluded that

- **Management of Soviet–Asian relations is rapidly passing to Russia and the Central Asian republics bordering that region.**
- **The Russian republic will emerge as Japan's interlocutor and will assign much higher priority to Asian policy than did the former Soviet Union.**
- **The new leadership in Moscow has demonstrated a willingness to settle with Japan on the Northern Islands issue.**
- **Russian leaders look to Japan as the most important source of foreign investment capital for their future development programs**

The test for both the United States and Japan will be in finding ways to use their combined resources and power to help stabilize Russian democracy and to enhance security and prospects for an expanded market economy throughout the region.

identified as a priority topic, especially policies for securing economic development and growth in the region, with particular attention to countries such as the Philippines that have had relatively limited economic growth. This project demonstrates the Institute's interest in promoting dialogue and cooperation and minimizing programmatic overlap among institutions with similar interests but different strengths.

The Institute also sponsored a two-day conference on Regional Security in the Pacific Basin in May 1991, just two weeks after President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Tokyo. The meeting was part of the Institute's working group examining deterrence and security arrangements on a global and regional basis. Speaking at the session were, among others, Richard Solomon, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs; Takayuki Kimura, deputy chief of mission of the Embassy of Japan in Washington; and Yevheniy V. Afanasyev, chargé d'affaires of the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

While the meeting addressed such central questions as the role of China in the new world order, Korean unification, and the prospects for continued progress toward peace in Indochina, an interesting debate ensued on general security arrangements in East Asia. The discussion pitted those in favor of regional security structures against those who favored broader international involvement. It became clear that the states of East Asia are torn between weaker but more flexible bilateral and regional actions to enhance security (i.e., providing greater freedom and less entangling relationships for individual states) and stronger but less flexible arrangements that involve major powers from outside the region, such as the United States.

LATIN AMERICA

In parts of Latin America during the past several years, the level of violent conflict has declined and many countries have moved away from military and authoritarian systems

Elizabeth Shelton, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Department of State, and Takayuki Kimura, deputy chief of mission, Embassy of Japan, at conference on Regional Security in the Pacific Basin.

(From left to right) OAS Secretary General Joao Baena-Soares, Institute Board member Allen Weinstein, and Assistant Secretary General Christopher Thomas participate in a meeting on peacemaking in Latin America and the Caribbean.

of governance toward democratic rule. The Institute sponsored solicited grant competitions on Latin America in both 1990 and 1991 and has emphasized projects investigating patterns of conflict resolution and the movement of societies from violence to negotiations, to demobilization of military forces, and to a combination of effective democratic government and social and economic development. The Institute's concerns also include the role of the military in democratic societies, general patterns of conflict resolution and particularly those involving the Organization of American States (OAS) and the UN, and the meaning of regional security for Latin America in a post-Cold War world.

Four countries that confront sustained civil violence—Colombia and Peru in South America and El Salvador and Guatemala in Central America—have been of special interest. In one project supported by the Institute, the Inter-American Dialogue of the Aspen Institute is collaborating with the Institute of Latin America and Iberian Studies at Columbia University to examine problems of consolidating democratic governance in these four countries while combating insurgencies, drug trafficking, and other violence.

Peru's problems with the violent revolutionary Maoist movement, Sendero Luminoso, and El Salvador's prolonged and bitter internal war at times have seemed insoluble. Peace Fellow Cynthia McClintock, a professor of political science at George Washington University, is comparing the experience of these two countries to determine how a government can meet such an internal threat and still maintain a political system that functions through democratic processes.

McClintock is reviewing the impact of military and police actions, health care delivery, and agrarian reform on popular attitudes as well as the government's effectiveness in winning support from critical social groups. She also is considering the role of drug trafficking in providing support for the guerrilla movement in Peru, as well as the effectiveness of government measures aimed at weakening the revolutionary movement, including civilian defense, intelligence gathering, the administration of justice, and military training programs.

Efforts at conflict resolution at times do not succeed, as was the case in Panama following General Noriega's refusal to accept the results

Institute Session on the OAS and Peacemaking

Given the end of the Cold War and other developments in the Western Hemisphere, how can the Organization of American States (OAS) strengthen its peacekeeping role? In March 1990, the Institute convened an informal meeting to explore that question. Participants included the secretary-general and a group of permanent representatives and staff from the OAS, U.S. officials, and other experts on Latin America and conflict resolution. The meeting focused on the OAS' work in Nicaragua in assisting the demobilization and reintegration of the contras as an example that may be useful in modeling the future role of the OAS in conflict resolution.

As explained by OAS Secretary General Joao Baena-Soares and his representative in Managua, Santiago Murray, the OAS and the UN jointly established the International Commission of Support and Verification to oversee the disarming and resettlement of former contra combatants following the Central American Presidents' peace accords for settlement of conflict in Central America. The OAS group assumed responsibility for providing these returnees with documents, food, shelter, and health care. As the first deadline for disarmament passed, only one former combatant had agreed to hand in his rifle, but after months of mediation efforts, approximately 20,000 fighters had complied. Returning ex-combatants and other exiles from Honduras and Costa Rica, plus their families (both from within and outside Nicaragua), totaled 95,000 people. Later, a number of former combatants returned to the hills and were ready to resume their opposition to the central government. The Nicaraguan government has requested the OAS to mediate between the ex-Contras and itself.

of the Panamanian election in 1989. The Center for Strategic and International Studies is using an Institute grant to determine why efforts of the OAS and other third parties, as well as domestic forces within Panama, to settle the conflict were unsuccessful before the U.S. intervention in December 1989. The Center is also examining the impact of American military actions on the emerging democratization process in Panama and the lessons learned for U.S. policy in support of political transition and democratization efforts elsewhere in the world.

SOURCES OF VIOLENCE

What makes the difference between a contest of interests that is resolved without violence, and one that is not? Is the difference inherent in ethnic or nationalist sentiment? In environmental or sociological factors? Or is a violent expression of conflict a choice often dependent on the deliberate manipulation of the emotions of a people? All these possibilities, and more, may have been at work in one case or another in recent years. To advance understanding of the factors that foster violence, the Institute has been supporting a variety of investigations.

PSYCHOLOGY AND CONFLICT

Many armed conflicts take place among national and subnational groups striving to establish political sovereignty in disputed territories. Powerful psychological and spiritual forces often underlie these conflicts. Institute-sponsored research seeks to understand how individual emotions are linked to group processes, a phenomenon not often considered in general literature.

For example, John Mack, academic director of the Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age, professor of psychiatry at Harvard University, and author of a Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of T.E. Lawrence, is using Institute grant support to investigate the psychological and spiritual roots of nationalism. His work examines how the universal human needs of security, self-worth, belonging, and a sense of personal power are shaped and directed in the political arena; how powerful emotional forces drive international conflict; and how it is possible to improve people's ability to think for themselves instead of readily yielding to the manipulations of political leaders and the mass media. The main product of the study will be a book, but Dr. Mack's findings will also be disseminated through journal articles and conference presentations.

ETHNIC CONFLICT

Although ethnic conflict is a serious problem in many places, few areas can match the former Soviet republics in terms of ethnic rivalries. The implications for peace are considerable, and the need to expand understanding of conditions in the area is urgent. The Institute has responded by funding a number of inquiries.

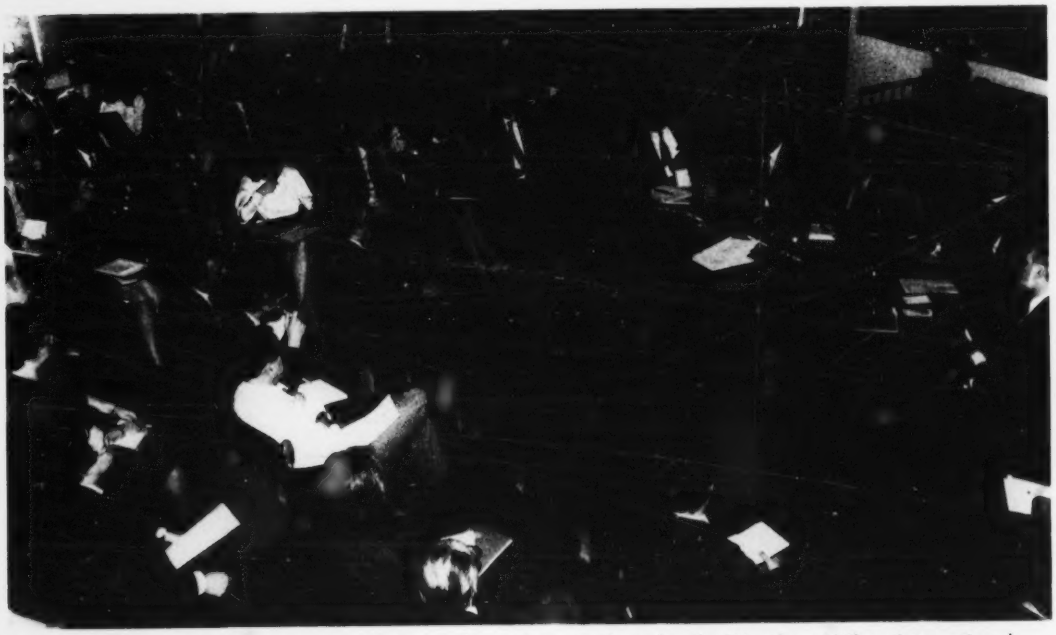
Supported by an Institute grant, Uri Ra'anan and others at the Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology, and Policy at Boston University are studying the international and domestic implications of ethnic conflict and the crisis within the former Soviet system. Issues of national sovereignty and ethnic autonomy, long suppressed by imperial or Soviet domination, are urgently complicating the state of affairs in East Europe and the former Soviet Union. The study's products include simulations, articles, and two books: *Soviet Empire: The Challenge of*

A Psychologist Looks at Enemy Imaging

At times of national crisis, elites mobilize public support through the sometimes subtle, sometimes crude use of exaggerated national self-images and demonizing images of the enemy. The images chosen are specific to a given culture, and they convey valuable information about that culture's values, attitudes, and belief systems. Peace Scholar Nora Femenia, a practicing clinical psychologist and a doctoral candidate in the conflict resolution program of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, has been studying the images of self and others propounded by the leaders of Argentina and the United Kingdom during the Falklands–Malvinas War in 1982. Among her areas of concentration are imaging patterns that engender unreasonable enmity toward the enemy, thus exacerbating conflicts and setting up psychological obstacles that must be overcome before serious efforts at settlements can be concluded.

National and Democratic Movements, and *State and Nation in Multi-Ethnic Societies*. In the latter work, distinguished scholars and practitioners reevaluated the pioneering approaches of Karl Renner and Otto Bauer to the resolution of the "nationalities problem" in the multinational Austro–Hungarian Empire for possible applications to contemporary arenas of ethnic conflict in both the developed and developing world. The Renner–Bauer model was based on the so-called "personality principle, according to which national rights should be accorded to individual persons rather than exclusively to territorial groupings." The essential idea is that, under certain circumstances, nationality may be divorced from territorial possession. This, of course, presents a challenge to the "axiom of modern nationalism that every nation must have sovereignty over a specific piece of real estate." But the authors conclude that the personality principle may present a creative and plausible option for areas where national or ethnic groups are too interspersed geographically to make neat territorial divisions.

The views of twenty-eight experts are found in a book entitled *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies* (Lexington Books, 1990), edited by Joseph V. Montville of the Foreign Service Institute with support from the Institute. In a chapter entitled "Making Moderation Pay," Professor Donald Horowitz of Duke University sets out some constitutional and political options to promote interethnic accommodation. Building on experiences in Malaysia and Nigeria, he states that the most important feature of democratic elections is to make politicians "reciprocally dependent on the votes of members of groups other than their own," thus creating heterogeneous political constituencies. In Nigeria, he notes, the constitution requires that successful presidential candidates receive minimum proportions of votes in the various states. In order to promote more positive interethnic behavior among groups separated territorially, arrangements for devolution and the creation of one or another form of federalism are worth considering, concludes Horowitz.



Ethnic conflict in Yugoslavia was a major topic of a seminar conducted at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and cosponsored by the Institute.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Sri Lankan army troops advance on Tamil rebel positions.

Violence and Political Systems

Why do some active paramilitary organizations involve themselves in the elective process while others shun the arena? Why does any organization engaged in violence turn to electoral politics? Wrestling with these issues, Institute Peace Scholar Cynthia Irvin is examining antisystem organizations—their structural variations and their effects on institutionalized politics. A pivotal experience that led to her current focus of study was Irvin's witnessing of a car bomb explosion while in Belfast as a freelance journalist, which motivated her to return to graduate school to explore the politics of ethnically divided societies.

Based at the Department of Political Science at Duke University, where she is pursuing her doctorate, Irvin is examining the interactions of antisystem paramilitary organizations and institutionalized politics in the Basque region in Spain and in Northern Ireland for her dissertation, "Parties Against the State: Paramilitary Politics in Severely Divided Societies."

POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Although a good deal of work has been done on the origins of civil wars, little has been directed at how they end—on how people who have been killing each other in civil war can stop and create a common political system. Roy Licklider, professor of political science at Rutgers University, organized a conference on the topic in March 1990 under an Institute grant. A revised and edited version of the conference discussions will appear in a forthcoming book, *When the Killing Stops: The Aftermath of Civil Wars*, to be published by New York University Press. The primary purpose of the volume is to shed light on factors that contribute to the cessation of civil wars and the possible resulting political outcomes.

The role of the control and exchange of territory in the causation and settlement of international disputes is the subject of a book by Professor Gary Goertz of the University of Florida and Professor Paul F. Diehl of the University of Illinois entitled *Territorial Changes and International Conflict*. Based upon the analysis of 770 cases of territorial changes dating from 1816, the authors assert the importance of territory questions and their influence on decisions regarding the use of military force and the willingness of states to use such force. Of particular interest to the authors are the causes of recurring military conflict. They conclude that the transfer of territory, through peaceful means or otherwise, does not necessarily "signal the end of claims over the territory involved, nor does it necessarily mean that conflict between the two parties to the exchange is over." They add, "preventing future conflict may necessitate not acquiring the territory to begin with, as the benefits of acquiring the territory may be outweighed by future costs of conflict in defense of the territory."

CHAPTER III
REACHING A MULTITUDE OF AUDIENCES

Students in Close Up Foundation activities were reached through Institute-funded programs, as well as presentations by staff and fellows during visits to the Institute.

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INTRODUCTION

Every activity of the Institute is an educational endeavor designed to reach a number of audiences. In addition to policymakers and government officials, these targeted audiences include high school teachers and students, college and graduate school students and faculty, leaders of professional and civic groups and other nonprofit organizations, journalists, and other foreign affairs practitioners, observers, and scholars.

Projects described in Chapters I and II are designed with these audiences in mind. Research-oriented grants, fellowships, and in-house projects are conceived and executed with an array of dissemination devices, including public events—lectures, briefings, seminars, and conferences; publications—special reports, articles, monographs, and books; and other forms of communication and dissemination.

This chapter focuses on educational activities specifically aimed at several of these key audiences—students, teachers, other professionals, and the general public.

Teachers and students benefit from grants supporting in-service teacher training, curriculum and materials development, and Institute-directed projects, including the National Peace Essay Contest and *Breaking the Mold*—a five-part educational video project. Civic education receives a boost from grants supporting development of printed materials and video projects, as well as an array of outreach activities. Journalists and electronic media come to the Institute for information and assistance. Conflict-resolution experts use Institute support to instruct others on the "front line" in the skills of peacemaking and resolving conflicts without violence.

All these audiences are served by the Institute's publications program, which was advanced in 1991 by the inauguration of the United States Institute of Peace Press. In addition, the Institute's library program serves visitors as well as patrons in other libraries across the country through state-of-the-art computer linkages and bibliographic services.

Maximizing resources and collaborative projects with a great multiplier potential are among the many means by which the Institute will undertake its mission to help the American people understand the increasingly complex nature of peacemaking and peacebuilding.

HELPING EDUCATE SECONDARY AND POSTSECONDARY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

Before teachers can teach others about subjects as complex as peace and conflict resolution, they must have the necessary tools at their disposal. First, they must have the academic training required to present a clear, comprehensive picture of the historical, political, and socioeconomic issues underlying conflict and the search for peace. Second, they must have the educational resources and technologies required to enhance their students' learning and reinforce opportunities for learning outside the classroom. Third, they must be skilled at presenting subject matter in ways that pique interest and encourage participation by their students. In deciding on projects it would support or undertake, the Institute has sought to meet these educational requirements.

NATIONAL PEACE ESSAY CONTEST

On June 27, 1991, Nomi Seltzer, a senior from Brooklyn Technical High School in Brooklyn, New York, became the fourth national winner of the Institute's annual National Peace Essay Contest. Her essay, "Peace of Portsmouth," focused on President Theodore Roosevelt's successful efforts in mediating an end to the Russo–Japanese War in 1905.

Ms. Seltzer was a student at one of the hundreds of high schools that participated in the 1990–91 contest. Asked to write about an example of a significant contribution by the United States to prevent or to resolve a violent international conflict, and the lessons for future peacemaking efforts, students explored such topics as the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Camp David Accords, the Marshall Plan, the Korean and Vietnam wars, and the 1990–91 Persian Gulf crisis.

The National Peace Essay Contest was one of the Institute's first public education initiatives, and interest and participation in the contest have grown significantly since it was launched in 1987. The contest is designed to:

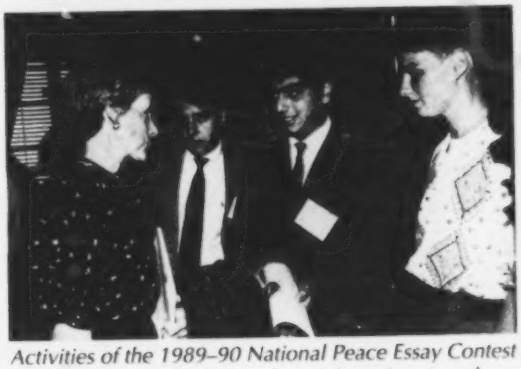
- Promote serious discussion among high school students, their teachers, and national leaders about international peace;
- Complement existing curricula and other scholastic activities; and
- Strengthen students' overall writing and analytical skills.

The contest is open to public and private high school students in the United States and the U.S. Territories and to U.S. citizens attending high schools in other countries. A faculty

Highlights of the 1989–90 Essay Contest Awards Program—June 1990

- **Tour of the White House and meeting with First Lady Barbara Bush.**
- **Discussions with Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum and Representative Dan Glickman.**
- **Briefing at the Legation of Lithuania.**
- **Visit to the United States Institute of Peace and meeting with Institute officials.**
- **Two-day simulation exercise in which students assumed the roles of U.S., Soviet, and European officials to discuss and negotiate such issues as German reunification.**
- **Opportunity to pose questions about changes in Eastern Europe to Senator Claiborne Pell, Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman, during the taping of *Current Issues*—a talk show on C-SPAN.**

First Lady Barbara Bush greets Institute president Samuel Lewis before speaking to essay contest winners.



Activities of the 1989–90 National Peace Essay Contest awards program. Students meet with Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum (left) and participate in a two-day negotiation simulation exercise (right).

member at most schools normally serves as coordinator, disseminating information about the contest and encouraging students to participate. All essays submitted must be published in an official school publication—a school newspaper or literary magazine, for example.

Submitted essays are judged on their depth of understanding, originality, intellectual and analytical quality, and style. Students first compete at the state level—where their work is judged by teachers, community, and other civic leaders, and then at the national level—where first-, second-, and third-place national winners are selected by the Institute's Board of Directors. First-, second-, and third-place state-level winners receive college scholarships of $500, $250, and $100, respectively. National winners receive a $10,000 college scholarship for first place, $5,000 for second, and $3,500 for third. First-place state-level winners also travel to Washington, D.C., for an expense-paid, week-

long program of meetings, seminars, and workshops designed to enhance students' understanding of issues affecting international peace.

The Essay Contest has been applauded by Governors, Members of Congress, and educators at all levels throughout the country. Now, as the contest enters its fifth year, students are being asked to address the 1991–92 essay topic:

- Under what circumstances should the United States use military force in its dealings with other nations? Discuss your views in relation to the Gulf War and to one other conflict of your choosing in which the United States has been involved. Use current events and history to illustrate your answer.

PIONEERING VIDEO SERIES: "BREAKING THE MOLD"

The Institute's Board of Directors recognizes the power of television in supplementing instruction in high schools, colleges, and community fora. This recognition was demonstrated by its decision to develop a video series on the history of the Cold War.

In fiscal year 1991, the Board's vision became reality as production was completed on the five segments of a pioneering series, "Breaking the Mold: U.S.–Soviet Relations 1945–1989." Drawing on archival photographs, motion pictures and videos, documents, and contemporary interviews, the series describes in five dramatic episodes the events that brought the United States and the Soviet Union into more than four decades of varying degrees of belligerency. The series then probes the forces that led to the thaw in relations and eventually to the end of the Cold War. The final episode focuses on recent events in Eastern Europe.

The five parts of the series are:

- "Setting the Mold: 1945–1953," which explores how the wartime allies became peacetime adversaries as the shadow of Soviet domination darkened Eastern Europe.
- "Cracking the Mold: 1953–1960," which describes the cycle of summit meetings between President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1955–1959 and their effect on the superpowers' relationship.

Profile of a Peace Essay Contest Winner

Chad P. Lee

An eighteen-year old high school senior from Fairfield, Montana, won first place in his state competition and third nationally in the 1989–90 National Peace Essay Contest. He says growing up near missile silos first sparked his interest in international affairs and peace.

"Writing the peace essay and attending the awards program broadened my understanding of what peace really is," says Chad P. Lee, "and helped me to appreciate how complicated the search for peace can be. But I believe that the benefits of peace are so far-reaching that, whatever I do and wherever I am, I am affected."

Lee grew up on a 600-acre farm where his family has raised barley, cattle, and hay for four generations. He is a sophomore in geological engineering at Montana College of Mineral Science and Technology.

"As a citizen of the United States and of the world," Lee adds, "I plan to continue thinking hard about how people like me can be up-to-date about international peace issues and what my role should be." Lee intends to live and work in Montana after graduating from college.

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Participants in a summer seminar at Alderson-Broaddus College: James Thompson of Tennessee Wesleyan College (left), Norman Dann of SUNY-Morrisville (center), and W. Christian Sizemore, president, Alderson-Broaddus College (right).

- "Recasting the Mold: 1959–1975," which focuses on two critical junctures in U.S.–Soviet relations: the Cuban missile crisis and the Vietnam War.
- "Breaking the Mold," which illustrates changes in U.S.–Soviet relations between 1977 and 1988, reflecting in part the policies and leadership styles of Presidents Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan and Soviet leaders Leonid Brezhnev and Mikhail Gorbachev.
- "The Mold Broken," which reports on movements toward democracy and freedom in Eastern Europe and the end of Soviet domination.

Each video segment contains a prologue and two fourteen-minute modules, which can be used together or separately, at the teacher's discretion. A resource materials package for instructors comes with each video. This package contains a synopsis, suggested discussion questions, a recommended reading list, maps, annotated timelines of events, biographical notes, and a user's guide.

The news-like documentaries are aimed at students in junior and senior high schools and in college, and they serve as a stimulus for students to study the subject further on their own. The Institute chose the Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation to promote and market the series. The first three segments were also offered to public television stations across the country. (See "Reaching the Broader Public.")

GRANTMAKING

Grantmaking plays an important role in the Institute's education mandate. Following are descriptions of several grant projects that illustrate the diversity of the Institute's approach to strengthening classroom instruction.

Educating Underserved Populations

In the city of Camden, New Jersey, twenty-three county high schools serve a predominantly black and Hispanic population of 19,460 high school-aged students from families with a median annual income of less than $12,000. In 1991, the Foreign Policy Research Institute and Camden County College teamed together with Institute support to improve the county's high school instruction in peace and conflict management through teacher training and curriculum enrichment in the fields of world history, politics, and geography.

To undertake this project, fellowships are being awarded to thirty-five teachers in Camden County who will attend nine monthly, one-hour seminars conducted by leading foreign policy and regional specialists. Ninety-minute workshops, led by Camden County College faculty and interspersed between the seminars, provide background information on the areas of the world discussed in the seminars; demonstrate instructional techniques; and help teachers develop curriculum materials. At the close of the project, all teachers will have generated curriculum modules, and selected seminars and workshops will have been videotaped. The curriculum modules and videotapes will then be disseminated for use in training other teachers within the Camden County schools and made available to other teachers in New Jersey.

A grant to Alderson-Broaddus College in Philippi, West Virginia, offers another illustration of how the Institute helps to educate students and teachers in areas that do not have access to the kinds of resources found in large metropolitan areas. With Institute support, the college held a two-week summer seminar for forty West Virginia and regional secondary and college instructors in 1990 on teaching about challenges to peace posed by conventional, nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. The seminar also produced an anthology scheduled for publication in late 1991. A follow-on grant has enabled the college to undertake a new project on the Arabs and Israelis.

Preparing Teachers to Teach About Arms Control

For the nonspecialist, arms control is one of the most complex issues affecting international peace. For those teaching about arms control, it is difficult, and perhaps impossible, to understand the complexity of the issues without expert help. Through an Institute grant, the Strom Thurmond Institute of Government and Public Affairs at Clemson University, in South Carolina, designed and conducted a two-week summer seminar, Arms Control in a Changing International Environment, to provide precisely the kind of high-level instruction needed by high school social science teachers. The goals of the program were to help the teachers become familiar with:

- The history of arms control efforts;
- The relationships among arms control, deterrence, and national security policy;
- Existing arms control agreements and current negotiations to assess the impact of these and possible future agreements on international peace and conflict management; and
- Future trends in arms control in a changing international environment.

The program for teachers began at Clemson University with a week's study of arms control and deterrence theory. Participants then traveled to Washington, D.C., to speak with officials from the Institute, the Department of Defense (including the On-site Inspection Agency), the Department of State, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Members of Congress. Other highlights of their visit included briefings on monitoring and destruction of banned systems, the status of current arms control negotiations, and the operation of the National Military Command Center—complete with a demonstration of the Worldwide Military Communications System—and a discussion on arms control with officials at the Soviet embassy.

An element of the program was participants' preparation of instructional units on international security and arms control for use in their classes and for sharing with other teachers in South Carolina.

Adding to Teacher Resource Materials

Early on, the Institute determined that efforts to provide teachers with instruction and firsthand educational experiences must be augmented by high-quality resource materials. The following description of a grant project illustrates the Institute's efforts in this area.

According to a recent Close Up Foundation survey of teachers, there is an acute gap in materials for high school-level courses on peace and security issues. At the time of the survey, 91 percent of the respondents reported that the academic inadequacy and one-sidedness of most supplemental materials left them with little to draw from other than magazines and newspaper articles. What the teachers wanted were balanced, high-quality materials featuring a wide variety of activities from which they could make selections to meet their specific needs.

With an Institute grant, the Close Up Foundation took a three-pronged approach to improving teaching of peace and related issues in high school classrooms: a one-week summer institute for teachers to develop classroom curricula;

"Perspectives on Peace" Television Programs

- **Perspectives on Peace**
- **Eye on the Soviet Union**
- **The Human Condition: Poverty and Peace**
- **The Weapons of War**
- **Love Thy Neighbor: Religious and Cultural Conflicts**
- **Democracy: The Road to Peace?**
- **The Global Environment**
- **The World Economy**
- **Statecraft: The Art of Peace**
- **People to People**

a ten-part educational television series; and a teacher resource book. Details about the video and resource book components follow.

The Close Up Foundation's television series, "Perspectives on Peace," consists of ten programs that were aired on C-SPAN television. Each program features a panel of experts who give brief presentations on a selected topic and then answer questions from a studio audience of approximately 100 secondary school educators from across the country. Because programs were aired on C-SPAN, they were also available in millions of homes in the United States and its territories, as well as schools in all fifty states.

Close Up also produced a teacher resource book building on the ideas presented in the "Perspectives on Peace" series, with chapters and topics organized to correspond with the programs. It includes student handouts; Gorbachev's statement, *How We See the World Today;* a quiz on hunger; a statement about aid to developing nations; and an article on pollution in the Danube. Other elements include instructional strategies to motivate students and lists of periodicals, journals, books, and organizations through which teachers can locate additional information. The videos and resource book are available for purchase from Close Up.

Computer-Simulated Negotiation Training for High School Students

The real-world challenges of international negotiations and intercultural communications become evident to participants in the International Communications and Negotiation Simulations (ICONS) program developed by educators at the University of Maryland. Issues such as arms control and disarmament, nuclear proliferation, international trade, Third World debt and development, the environment, and regional conflicts are the concerns of participants in this interactive educational format.

Whittier College's International Negotiation Project (INP) implemented ICONS in its undergraduate curriculum in 1987 and received an Institute grant in 1989 for a pilot program bringing ICONS to nine nearby high schools. With follow-on support from the Institute, the INP was expanded to include additional high schools in California, Arizona, and Oregon. With another Institute grant, the University of Maryland will establish additional regional centers for ICONS across the country.

Professor Joyce Kaufman directs Whittier College's International Negotiation Project.

High schools in the Whittier program act as individual countries, negotiating with each other through a central computer that processes the exchange of messages and communiques via on-line conferences. To add a measure of authenticity and to stress the importance of culture and language in negotiations, the country-teams are required to convey some communications in the appropriate foreign language, which, in turn must be translated by teams on the receiving end. Like real negotiators, participants must cope with ambivalence, frustration, and irresolution in the simulation.

ICONS' virtues are multifaceted—interactive dialogue with students from other schools; foreign language usage in professional situations; preparation in civics, history, economics, and foreign cultures; and development of computer skills through situations akin to the real world of contemporary diplomacy and commerce. The INP provides firsthand knowledge of the real-life challenges posed by cross-cultural communications, linguistic differences, the need to relay information in clear and concise form, and even society's increasing reliance on sophisticated communications technologies, a fact that became painfully evident when the program computer equipment malfunctioned and the simulation was temporarily halted.

Multistate University Consortium Develops a Core Peace Curriculum

In 1990, three state universities began a unique coordinated effort to develop a core curriculum in applied peace studies.

The Alabama–Arkansas–Mississippi Consortium for Peace, Conflict Resolution, and International Security Studies is composed of the Capstone International Program at the University of Alabama, the International and Interdisciplinary Program at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, and the Center for International Security and Strategic Studies at Mississippi State University. Their program is designed on the premise that achieving and maintaining world peace and stability will be attained by formulating and implementing well-reasoned policies. Within the program, students examine a variety of policies and policy areas to determine their impact on peace and security.

The Consortium's core course presents the most current and decisive changes facing the world today, including the dramatic 1989 Eastern and Central European political transformation, the unification of Germany, the political disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the Gulf War. In addition, it introduces students to the historical background and theoretical analyses underlying peace and security studies and the process of conflict resolution. Students in a pilot course commented that it increased their understanding of how and why countries interact and provided greater understanding of how U.S. policy is formulated and implemented.

This effort illustrates how the Institute can expand a project's impact regionally. In this instance, an initial start-up grant to Mississippi State University and two follow-on grants developed into an ongoing, multi-institution project serving students and teachers in three states.

REACHING THE BROADER PUBLIC

An attendee poses question to Institute speaker at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library in Austin, Texas.

Learning about peace and conflict is not only a subject for high school and university students, but also an important civic duty for the general public. Reaching a geographically and educationally diverse public requires a wide range of products and programs.

Grantees and fellows are working on an array of projects designed to reach public audiences around the country through publications, television and radio programming, and grassroots educational programming. The Institute also supports public education directly through the dissemination of its own written materials and video products and the conduct of workshops, seminars, and conferences, and indirectly through media services and other outreach activities.

OUTREACH

The Public Affairs and Information Office is frequently the first point of contact for people seeking information about the Institute or peace and conflict resolution issues. It disseminates information on Institute programs and resources to the media, subject specialists, and the general public through a speakers bureau, educational programming, media services, and other functions.

Each week, the Public Affairs and Information Office fulfills an average of more than one hundred requests from the general public for publications, documents, and other information on international peace and conflict issues. Many of those requests are the result of articles

and announcements in newspapers, professional newsletters, and publications, including the *Chronicle of Higher Education, Commerce Business Daily,* and the *Federal Register*. Many requests also come from librarians who learn about documents that are available from the Institute through the Vertical File Index service. The Institute regularly communicates with more than 300 international affairs organizations, professional associations, and information clearinghouses, providing them with information about grants, fellowships, in-house projects, publications, and events related to their areas of interest.

Another outreach effort involves staff participation in professional conferences and meetings, where they disseminate information on programs, publications, and video products. During the reporting period, organizations whose meetings staff members attended include the American Political Science Association, the International Political Science Association, the American Library Association, the United Nations Association, the American Forum, the International Studies Association, the Peace Studies Association, and the Consortium on Peace Research Education and Development. In 1991, the Institute also staged two exhibits on the Mall in Washington, D.C., in conjunction with Public Service Recognition Week and activities marking the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Peace Corps.

The Institute also receives numerous requests from organizations around the country for speakers on topics pertaining to international peace and on the Institute's work in general. During fiscal years 1990 and 1991, Board members, staff, and fellows visited twenty-two states, speaking to a variety of grassroots audiences. These types of engagements frequently include lectures at colleges and universities, speeches before civic organizations such as Rotary Clubs and world affairs councils, meetings with newspaper editors and reporters, and television and radio interviews.

To maximize the impact of outreach efforts, the Institute has also conducted intensive two-day programs in medium- to large-sized metropolitan areas. These programs consist of specialized workshops, information on grants and fellowships, and meetings with librarians, information specialists, scholars, educators, and civic organizations. In addition, each program includes at least six speeches and educational seminars on timely issues designed for the general public. During the reporting period, such programs were undertaken in Honolulu, Hawaii, and Austin, Texas.

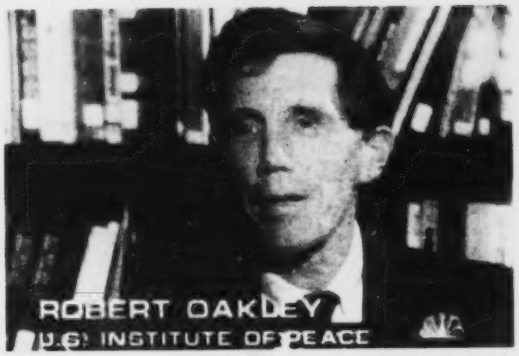
The Public Affairs and Information Office also arranges briefings and other presentations for a variety of groups that visit the Institute. During a typical visit, a staff member makes a brief presentation about the Institute—its history, mandate, functions, and programs—after which one or more fellows or other staff speak about the topic of special interest to the visitors. Visitors have included hundreds of students from dozens of high schools, colleges, and universities, senior citizen groups, U.S. and foreign military officers from the Army War

Institute Speakers

In addition to presentations at dozens of colleges and universities, staff and fellows have spoken to audiences of civic organizations around the country. Examples include

- **Sarasota Institute of Lifelong Learning**
- **United Nations Association of Kansas City**
- **Houston Committee on Foreign Relations**
- **Society of Professionals in Dispute Resolution, D.C. Chapter**
- **American Association of University Women—California State Division**
- **Businessmen for Peace (Des Moines)**
- **National College Model United Nations**
- **Huntington, West Virginia Rotary Club**
- **World Affairs Council of Oregon**

Institute president Samuel Lewis with visitors from Afghanistan during their USIA-sponsored tour of the United States.



Staff member Robert Oakley appears on NBC News.

College, and dozens of individuals participating in United States Information Agency-sponsored visits to the United States.

MEDIA RELATIONS

The Institute's reputation has continued to grow as a reliable source for expert information on a wide range of issues and events affecting particular conflicts as well as on overall questions about international peace. During the Persian Gulf crisis, for instance, better than 200 requests from print and broadcast media for interviews and other information were received. Institute fellows, staff, and other affiliated experts appeared on national television and radio and were quoted in major national wire services, national newspapers, and other dailies. This experience was repeated later in 1991 as the political and ethnic turmoil in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe increased. As a reflection of the diversity of the Institute's approach to peacemaking, occasionally two or more Institute experts with different points of view were featured within similar formats.

During the reporting period, the Institute published its first *Guide to Specialists*, which serves as the Institute's primary means for relaying information to the media and others about the work of current and former Institute fellows and their areas of expertise. The *Guide* is augmented by special occasional "media alerts" highlighting fellows' and staff expertise relating to events of the day, such as Middle East security, the political/economic crisis in the Soviet Union, and elections overseas. When appropriate, callers are also directed to grantees and other Institute-affiliated experts working in these areas.

The Institute on the Air

Some of the national programs on which Institute experts have been seen and heard include:

- **NBC News**
- **ABC News**
- **CNN**
- **C-SPAN**
- **"MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour"**
- **"David Brinkley Show"**
- **"Off the Record"**
- **National Public Radio**
- **Monitor Radio**

EDUCATIONAL FILM AND VIDEO

During the past twenty years, the electronic media have played an ever-expanding role in almost every facet of the American education process. Recognizing this fact, the Institute has

supported others' work in this area and undertaken its own major video project, "Breaking the Mold," which was described earlier in this chapter. Although the project is designed primarily for classroom use, the Institute arranged through the Southern Educational Communications Association (SECA), a consortium of public television stations, to offer the first three programs to local stations on the national Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) satellite on three consecutive Sundays in April 1991. A survey in May indicated that 91 of 175 stations had recorded the program for possible airing, meaning that it was potentially available to at least 31.6 million households. SECA has expressed interest in offering the remaining two segments to PBS stations.

"Blue Helmets"

An Institute grant to Pacific Street Film Projects, Inc., supported development of the ninety-minute documentary, "Blue Helmets: The Story of United Nations Peacekeeping." The program focuses on the efforts of the UN to maintain peace in areas of conflict through dispatch of forces drawn from military organizations of member nations under UN command. Through interviews with UN personnel, diplomats, political leaders, scholars, and military experts, the film examines the history of UN operations—successes and failures—and takes a critical look at ongoing operations. Through the use of rare archival footage, the film provides a unique firsthand perspective on the evolution and implementation of peacekeeping operations. "Blue Helmets" was first broadcast on PBS in October 1990.

"The Rise and Fall of Communism"

The history of the worldwide Communist movement is certainly one of the most important and dramatic political stories of the twentieth century. An Institute fellow is executive producer of a television history of communism combining American, British, and Russian television resources.

"World Revolution: The Rise and Fall of Communism" will have five segments that look at communism as an international revolutionary movement. The producers have taken advantage of access to archival material in Moscow—including films—to describe in detail the rise of communism and the expansion of the modern Russian empire; the years of party rule there and in other Communist countries; and the disintegration of Communist authority as a philosophy, a political force, and an economic system. For a segment focusing on the Sino–Soviet conflict, producers interviewed knowledgeable sources in China and compared their perspectives with those of the Soviets and with archival documents in Moscow.

Eugene Shirley, a Peace Fellow from 1989 to 1991, is well equipped to merge the dynamics of international relations and broadcast journalism. He is founder and president of Los Angeles-based Pacem Productions, Inc., the first independent American television production company permitted to film in the Soviet Union. He previously produced "Candle in the Wind," an award-winning film on religion in the Soviet Union that was aired over PBS. He has produced other documentaries on science, technology, human rights, and communism.

The host of "World Revolution" will be William Luers, president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and former U.S. ambassador to Czechoslovakia, and the chair of the production's advisory committee is former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

The series is being coproduced with PBS, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and Russian television. The Institute provided Shirley with the opportunity to develop his programming ideas, to make and renew valuable contacts in the community of diplomats and international scholars, and to begin production. Additional funds for filming and production will be provided by PBS and the BBC, other international broadcasters, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and other U.S. grantmakers. The series is scheduled for distribution by PBS in 1993.

CIVIC EDUCATION

The Institute awards grants that support activities by civic organizations to educate the general public about international affairs and peacemaking processes. Examples of two such grants follow.

Teaching International Humanitarian Law

The Institute's desire to educate the public about international humanitarian law found voice in a grant to the American Red Cross. The idea was to focus on the Geneva convention of August 12, 1949, and the two Protocols adopted in 1977, which form the core of international humanitarian law. These international treaties on the law are designed to protect victims of war, including wounded and sick military personnel, and civilians in areas of conflict.

The Red Cross, with its long record of humanitarian service and its vast national grassroots network of 2,700 local chapters, is uniquely equipped to educate the American public about the Conventions and the law of war, what humanitarian protection means, and how it is accomplished.

By mid-1991, some highlights of the Red Cross's activities were:

- A twenty-six-minute documentary film;
- Printed material, including a presenter's package for the film plus additional materials for more in-depth understanding;
- A design for dissemination and use of these educational materials around the United States; and
- Formal designation by its Board of Governors of international law information as a primary organizational objective of its twenty-first century plan.

Regional and Local Programming

While the Red Cross effort is nationwide, other grantees have a localized focus. With Institute support, the World Affairs Council of Northern California sponsored an educational program for residents of the San Francisco Bay area.

An Institute grant supported a series of lectures on resolution of regional conflicts for the general public and study groups composed of business, philanthropic, and educational leaders. The lectures were edited and published in a volume entitled *International Conflict Resolution: Seven Perspectives*, which was made available to the Council's members. The seven speakers were Chester Crocker, Thomas Graham, Philip Habib, Richard Murphy, Harold Saunders, Michael Smith, and Brian Urquhart. Six of these individuals have held senior foreign policy positions in the U.S. government; one is a recently retired senior international civil servant. Study group discussions centered on policy formulation more than on details of particular conflicts. Speakers were not asked to explain or defend policies, but rather to share perspectives on how these policies were developed and how successful they were in resolving conflicts. In the end, much of the discussion centered on give and take in the policymaking process as a prelude to peacemaking. The Council has received a second grant for additional public programs on regional conflicts, which will be taped for radio broadcast in the Bay Area.

TRAINING FOR OTHER PROFESSIONALS

Diplomats from more than twenty countries attend classes conducted by the Harvard Negotiation Project with Institute grant support.

The Institute also supports instruction and education activities outside the traditional mechanisms of high school and university classes, mass media, and other public forums. Through several grants, the Institute has aided efforts by international relations and conflict resolution experts to provide instruction and training to persons on the "front line" of promoting democratic governance and nonviolent resolution of conflicts.

Much of the Institute's efforts in this area have been directed to societies in the Soviet Union and Eastern and Central Europe that face challenges of introducing—or reintroducing—democratic processes and individual and collective liberties as well as cultural and ethnic pluralism. With Institute grant support, American organizations have conducted programs in Russia, Hungary, and Poland to train public officials, civic leaders, labor and business leaders, and educators about mediation of political, ethnic, and socioeconomic strife; labor-management negotiations; environmental disputes; and civilian oversight of armed forces.

A number of these emerging democracies lack cadres of professionals with technical know-how and depth of experience in these areas. Until recently, the capacities of these societies to cope with conflict either existed under very strict government control—meaning that there was little public or civic experience—or were underdeveloped.

TEACHING PRACTITIONERS

In describing the recent upheavals in the Soviet republics and Eastern Europe, Soviet Ambassador Victor Issraelyn, who spent the better part

Officials from the Soviet Ministry of Nuclear Power and instructors at Institute-funded training program conducted by Partners for Democratic Change.

of twenty years negotiating with the West, observed, "We are now being asked by our government to deal with the United States as a partner, but we don't know how. We've never done it in the past. At the negotiating table, we have always seen each other in the image of the enemy." An Institute grant to the Harvard Negotiation Project led by Professor Roger Fisher has begun the process of training Europeans and officials from the now independent former Soviet republics, including Issraelyn, in this new relationship.

Fisher's project brought together sixty-four diplomats from the UN missions of NATO and Warsaw Pact countries for a joint negotiation training workshop and preparation of a follow-up report on the training for others in their governments. The objectives of the training were:

- To address problems that have arisen during negotiations between diplomats from governments with democratic and nondemocratic traditions;
- To develop participants' skills in conflict resolution and raise awareness of alternatives to a confrontational approach to negotiation;
- To develop curricula for teaching conflict resolution skills to diplomats and to increase availability of training in these techniques in West and East European governments; and
- To transfer negotiation teaching technology to help develop these governments' own negotiation training programs.

This training, which included presentations on negotiation theory, negotiation simulations, and group debriefings, represented the first joint negotiation project of its kind. It not only provided participants with the opportunity to see how diplomats from different cultures approach problems, but also allowed them to explore their differing perspectives firsthand, in a nonthreatening environment.

EXPANDING CONFLICT RESOLUTION SKILLS

While the Harvard program brought participants to the United States, Search for Common Ground, a Washington-based organization, brought conflict resolution training to the Soviet Union with a series of five-day sessions led by Raymond Shonholtz. These sessions introduced eighty Soviets to conflict resolution techniques. Ten labor leaders of the Soviet coal mine strike committees and ten union leaders in labor negotiation and collective bargaining learned about American experiences in collective bargaining. Twenty teachers and administrators from Moscow city schools and pedagogical institutions studied programs that have reduced conflict and violence in American school systems. Twenty psychologists responsible for the well-being of workers in nuclear power plants, together with officials from the Ministry of Nuclear Power, were trained in organizational development and conflict resolution. And a diverse group of sociologists, psychologists, and methodologists were taught about both the theoretical and practical aspects of conflict management and resolution.

The Institute has also made grant awards for training programs for Eastern Europeans on managing democratic governments. A grant to the Atlantic Council of the United States made it possible for officials from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland to participate in briefings and seminars on executive and legislative oversight mechanisms for budgetary and

defense policy formulation. Other groups of professionals involved in Institute-supported training programs include Israeli diplomats and Arab and Israeli teachers and civic leaders.

These activities underscore the Institute's ongoing interest in the connection between democracy and the rule of law and international peace, as well as its interest in promoting peaceful resolution of domestic or factional conflicts overseas that could provoke broader conflict or otherwise adversely affect the "new world order."

Knowledge about conflict resolution techniques and negotiations skills is also disseminated by other Institute grantees, fellows, and research project participants whose work contributes to these areas. In addition, instructors in Institute-supported training sessions and workshops often share their newly acquired insights and pedagogical experiences with colleagues in the United States and overseas, who can then better understand the dynamics of teaching conflict resolution skills.

LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICES

History contains many lessons for those who will heed them. Whether presenting primary source accounts or secondary analyses based on the perspective of time or new and current information that illuminates the past, libraries provide resources for history's lessons. Access is crucial to any resource; although national and international holdings of peace and conflict resolution literature are the products of years of acquisition, they are dispersed in collections that have been organized along the lines of traditional disciplines. A primary goal of the Jeannette Rankin Library Program is to meet the critical need of providing easier access to information in all parts of this field.

CORE LIBRARY COLLECTION

The working research library housed at the Institute represents the beginning of a planned worldwide network of international conflict management resources. The core collection of approximately 3,500 books and 140 periodical titles continues to expand. The library acquires titles not only through specifically budgeted purchases, but also through the Gifts and Exchange Program of the Library of Congress. The library has the task of building a comprehensive collection while avoiding unnecessary redundancy. Participation in library networks and reciprocal relationships with comparable collections facilitate the balance between comprehensiveness and practicality.

The library serves a varied clientele. On a daily basis, it provides standard services for researchers and scholars, including up-to-the-hour information from wire services, interlibrary loans, creation of subject bibliographies, document retrieval, and citation verification. Computerization extends the library's reach far beyond its walls through an in-house, on-line public catalog, as well as on-line bibliographic computer networks that facilitate interlibrary loans and information sharing with other collections. In addition, the library has on-line access to many commercial and nonprofit databases offsite.

The Institute's holdings also include further specialized collections. The Persian Gulf crisis provided the impetus for a special collection of related books, periodical literature, U.S. government and United Nations documents, and other reports.

Jeannette Rankin Library Program Profile

	FY 1990	FY 1991
Books	2,400	3,500
Periodicals		
Subscriptions	125	135
Vertical Files		
Drawers of pamphlets, etc.	7	11
Oral History Database		
Records	1,125	1,200
Abstracts	625	800

DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL SYSTEM

Following are brief descriptions of the central elements of the Institute's efforts to develop a national network of peace- and security-related library activities.

Grant awards play an important role in development of the Institute's national library system by supporting collection expansion and bibliographic development. Such grant projects also aid the Institute, because the terms of a grant provide for the Institute's access to subsequent products. One award was made for the acquisi-

tion of library materials for a collection to be used throughout the Intermountain West. An Institute grant to the Institute of Peace Studies, which is affiliated with the Montana Association of Churches and Rocky Mountain College, supported acquisition of basic library materials on international peace for use throughout the library's service region.

An award to California State University at Los Angeles underwrote creation of a comprehensive up-to-date bibliography that permits researchers to identify literature on contemporary and historical events in arms control and disarmament. The comprehensive bibliography will be available electronically at the university and at the Institute, and a published version of selected entries will be available for sale to libraries, researchers, and others.

Beyond grantmaking, building a national system requires development of relationships with librarians across the country who are interested in the international peace and security fields and related literature. Members of this informal network receive announcements of events and Institute publications relevant to this specialty. A second method of outreach and development of a national system takes place on a more personal level, including participation in conferences and visits to libraries by Institute staff. A session entitled "Arms Control, Disarmament, and Peace Research: Gaining Access to the Sources" at the American Library Association annual conference featured a presentation by the library program director. This and other similar occasions are the cornerstones of relationships that grow into solidly beneficial ties.

As a next step, the Institute plans to conduct a study of the needs to be addressed by a more formal electronic network, including such factors as subject areas to be covered, various formats of materials, geographic needs, types of audiences, speed and method of delivery, and means of communications.

Capturing Uncataloged Material

Gray literature—(uncataloged material). **The problem of access to this material—short reports, studies, proceedings, and issue briefs produced by research centers and organizations working on international conflict issues—is very acute. Often these documents provide the most complete and current information on issues, but much of this literature escapes any library system. The Institute awarded a grant to ACCESS, a Washington-based information clearinghouse, for a feasibility study of a bibliographic control system. The project is an important first step in maximizing the utility and availability of gray literature.**

PUBLICATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC CONTROL OF THE LITERATURE

The recurring challenge of information retrieval and availability ranks high on the list of priorities for the Library Program. Access is often the most difficult aspect of research. The Institute has already taken several steps towards organizing and classifying the extensive resources available.

One Institute activity in this area was its publication of *Guides to Library of Congress Subject Headings and Classification on Peace and International Conflict Resolution*, a volume that incorporates Library of Congress classification, the standard organization system of most academic and research libraries in the United States. The *Guides* are topic-based compilations of subject headings that relate to the Institute's focus areas. Amassing more than 2,000 entries in a single volume, they facilitate research using previously overlooked areas of library materials. The *Guides* range widely in their necessarily interdisciplinary scope and include two distinct sections. The first is a listing of the Library of Congress subject headings drawn from such topics as philosophy, religion, ethics, economics, psychology, sociology, international law, history, and political science as well as military and naval science. This listing is divided into three parts: topics and events, place names, and wars and other conflicts. The second section contains the Library of Congress

Library patron receives assistance from reference librarian Denise Dowdell.

Special Collection on the Gulf Crisis

A special library collection was begun in response to the Persian Gulf crisis. The public on-line catalog system at the Institute already includes most elements of the special collection.

The collection's criteria for inclusion include:

- **Working Papers and Reports: Usually overlooked and uncataloged "gray literature"—materials from private think tanks, university institutes, and nonprofit organizations.**
- **Government Sources: Relevant documents including those from Senate and House committees, Congressional Research Service publications, *Congressional Record*, Foreign Broadcasting Information Service, *Daily Reports for Near East and South Asia*, etc.**
- **United Nations Documents: Selected UN resolutions and publications related to the Persian Gulf crisis, including key resolutions.**
- **Other: Selected books, newspapers, journal articles, and wire service verbatim transcripts of speeches, hearings, colloquia, etc.**

classification schedules for materials on peace and international conflict resolution, again drawing on materials from many disciplines. Also included in this part is a Cutter list for regions and countries and an index to the classification schedules.

ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

The technological advances of the past century place new demands on future historians and on libraries. Not all statesmen and diplomats are writers; perhaps only recorded interviews, oral histories of pivotal lives, can preserve their valuable recollections. Because no comprehensive catalog exists for this field, the Institute located and cataloged potentially relevant and valuable sources. An Institute survey of collections around the nation located approximately 1,200 oral histories in 30 separate collections. The Institute plays a role in identifying and locating oral histories on peacemaking, negotiation, and related diplomatic experiences. About half of the histories have abstracts, which are held by the Institute and accessible to the public.

The Institute's oral history program extends beyond cataloging existing materials in other collections. Reliance on previously recorded interviews alone would obviously be inadequate. Under an Institute grant, the Association of Diplomatic Studies procured interviews with senior Foreign Service Officers and other American officials who played important and crucial roles in international diplomacy. Although these are also described in the database within the Institute's library, the Association of Diplomatic Studies interview tapes are part of the Georgetown University Library collection.

PUBLICATIONS

Books published by the United States Institute of Peace Press.

No matter what the subject, newspapers, periodicals, books, and other specialized publications remain key educational tools. For an organization such as the Institute—where sponsorship of research and analysis for dissemination to policymakers, diplomats, journalists, educators, and the general public are primary goals—publishing is paramount.

When the 1989 *Biennial Report* was printed, the Institute's publishing plans were in their initial stages. Today books published by the Institute are on bookstore shelves and in libraries and are used in college courses; and Institute reports, proceedings, and books are in the hands of the public, academics, policymakers, the media, the Administration, and the Congress. Reports are being distributed domestically and beginning to find their way into the international marketplace.

INSTITUTE PRESS

The United States Institute of Peace Press, established in 1991, brings the Institute into the company of such organizations as the Wilson Center Press, the National Defense University Press, and the publishing operations of the Brookings Institution, the American Enterprise Institute, and other long-established public policy institutions. The Institute's growing

national and international network of outlets should enhance sales and distribution of Institute products.

PERIODICALS

The *United States Institute of Peace Journal* and *In Brief* are the Institute's two regular periodicals. The *Journal*, an eight- to twelve-page, bimonthly newsletter, reports on recent and upcoming Institute programs and products. Now in its fourth year of publication, it has a circulation of 30,000.

In Brief provides a two- to four-page synopsis of Institute-sponsored work on topics of interest to policymakers, scholars, others in the peace and security community, and the general public. Through the end of fiscal year 1991, thirty-two issues of this publication have been produced and distributed to a 3,000-reader mailing list.

FIRST BOOKS FIND SUCCESS

Five books had been produced by the new United States Institute of Peace Press by the close of fiscal year 1991. One of the first, *Origins of the Cold War: The Novikov, Kennan, and Roberts "Long Telegrams" of 1946*, has received wide praise in professional journals. The April 1991 issue of *Peace Courier* called it "a landmark new book." *Foreign Affairs* wrote "Having these three documents together in one publication is a boon to scholars and teachers;" and the May 1991 *The Bookwatch* reported, "Students receive a unique opportunity to study and contrast Soviet, U.S. and British postwar thoughts in a single volume." This publication marked the first time that the three documents were available in one volume, and the first time the Soviet document was published in English.

Publications on display at Institute conference.

Selected *In Brief* Titles

Development and Peace: An Illusory Link? **A report on a Research and Studies Public Workshop.**

Africa's Internal Wars of the 1980s—Contours and Prospects. **A report from Institute grantee Raymond W. Copson, Congressional Research Service.**

U.S. and USSR: Partners During the Cold War? **A report on a grant project by Nish Jamgotch.**

The Salience of Ethnic Conflict in the Late Twentieth Century. **A book edited by Joseph V. Montville based on discussion of essays presented at a conference on Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies with grant support from the Institute.**

Dialogues on Nicaragua—Bridging the Barriers of Conflict. **A report on dialogues and seminars conducted by Peace Fellow Bruce M. Berlin, Trinity Forum for International Security Conflict and Resolution.**

The Art of Pre-Negotiation: Opening New Doors to Negotiations. **A report on work by grantee Jay Rothman of the Leonard David Institute of Hebrew University.**

Citizen Diplomats Coming of Age. **Excerpts from *Timing and the De-escalation of International Conflicts*, by grantee Louis Kriesberg at Syracuse University.**

Origins of the Cold War has been adopted for use in courses on world politics, U.S. foreign policy, the Cold War, and international relations at more than two dozen universities and colleges throughout the United States. Libraries and bookstores are also ordering the volume for their shelves.

Off the Press

Books

Approaches to Peace: An Intellectual Map. A volume investigating major different approaches to the study of conflict and peace, drawing from discussions and papers delivered at colloquia and a conference organized by the Institute (edited by Board member Scott Thompson and staff member Kenneth Jensen.)

Guides to Library of Congress Subject Headings and Classification on Peace and International Conflict Resolution. A unique two-in-one resource that provides access to complex interdisciplinary information on conflict resolution and peace.

Negotiating Across Cultures: Communications Obstacles in International Diplomacy. An examination of the ways cultural factors have affected U.S. dealings with Japan, Egypt, India, China, and Mexico (by Peace Fellow Raymond Cohen).

Origins of the Cold War: The Novikov, Kennan, and Roberts "Long Telegrams" of 1946. Three telegrams that offer an opportunity to compare American, British, and Soviet thinking in the early post–World War II period (edited by staff member Kenneth Jensen).

Soviet–American Conflict Resolution in the Third World. Essays by experts on opportunities and obstacles in resolving regional conflicts in Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Middle East, Southern Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Asia and the Pacific (edited by Peace Fellow Mark Katz).

Ukraine: The Legacy of Intolerance. An examination of religious and political intolerance in Ukraine (by Institute senior scholar David Little).

Special Reports

Making Peace Among Arabs and Israelis: Lessons from Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience. Former U.S. negotiators, other senior officials, and scholars draw lessons for U.S. peacemaking efforts from their experiences and from history.

The Gulf Crisis: Finding a Peaceful Solution. A panel of former diplomats, scholars, international lawyers, and others examine peacemaking options in the 1990–91 Persian Gulf crisis.

Study Group on Regional Arms Control Arrangements and Issues in the Post-War Middle East: An Interim Report. Experts analyze prospects for Middle East arms control.

Prospects for Conflict or Peace in Central and Eastern Europe. An Institute study group surveys events in 1989–90 in Eastern and Central Europe and looks beyond to prospects for conflict or peace in the region.

Dialogues from Public Workshop Series

Pacifism and Citizenship: Can They Co-exist? A discussion between lifelong pacifist Elise Boulding and political scientist Guenter Lewy and other senior panelists on the relationship of citizenship and pacifist beliefs.

Is It Feasible to Negotiate Chemical and Biological Weapons? Institute fellows Robin Ranger and Raymond Cohen propose the creation of an international authority to control chemical and biological weapons.

A Discussion of the Origins of Thinking on Arms Control: The Sarajevo Fallacy. Workshop participants challenge conventional wisdom about arms control.

The Meaning of Munich Fifty Years Later. An examination of what lessons the Munich accords of 1938—the failed attempt to appease Hitler—may have for the future of NATO.

A Look at the "End of History?" Francis Fukuyama and his critics debate his controversial theory, drawn from Hegel, that—with the end of ideologies as the twentieth century has known them—the "end of history" has arrived.

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CHAPTER IV
THE INSTITUTE AT WORK: GRANTS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND IN-HOUSE RESEARCH AND STUDIES

Attendees register for an Institute conference.

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THE GRANT PROGRAM

Research to expand society's knowledge, specialized support and training for professionals engaged in diplomacy and other peacemaking areas, enrichment of curricula at both the university and high school levels, and a better informed public—these purposes are served at their broadest level through the Grant Program.

The Grant Program fosters research, education, training, and the dissemination of information through financial support to nonprofit organizations—including private colleges and universities—official public institutions, and individuals. Established in 1986, it was the Institute's first program. Institute grant projects address a wide range of subject matter. In addition, they expand the impact of the Institute's work through ever–widening relationships with universities and other academic, research, educational, and library organizations throughout the United States and abroad.

ENCOURAGING THOUGHT

As an organization devoted to furthering worldwide peace, the Institute must set a research agenda that addresses both the current and underlying issues that cause and aggravate violent conflict as well as those that may lead to its resolution. Moreover, if the lessons of history are to be of value, knowledge about conflict and conflict resolution must be transmitted to students and the general public through secondary, postsecondary, and adult education and outreach programs.

To fulfill these mandates, the Institute offers two types of grant competitions:

- **Unsolicited Grants** provide financial assistance for projects related to topics that fall within the Institute's broad mandate; and

Nadia Diuk (left), National Endowment for Democracy, and Marian Leighton (right), National Institute of Public Policy, participate in a grant review panel.

- **Solicited Grants** are for special priority topics that the Institute identifies annually and publicizes widely to potential applicants.

Most grants provide project support for a period between one and two years. Support levels for individual projects are generally between $25,000 and $35,000.

During fiscal years 1990 and 1991, the Institute received a total of 775 (solicited and unsolicited) applications, amounting to a total funding request of more than $54 million. By the close of fiscal year 1991, 161 of those applicants had been approved for grants totaling $4.3 million.

GRANTEE SELECTION PROCESS

The selection process is the same for both unsolicited and solicited categories. Institute professional staff members first review the application for completeness and salience to the Institute's mandate. A review panel of outside experts then evaluates applications. These evaluations, with the original application, are

passed to the Grant Committee of the Board of Directors to review and make its recommendations to the full Board, which then makes its final decisions on awards. Grants are awarded in three cycles per year, two for unsolicited and one for solicited applications.

The Institute recognizes that its grant support often has a leveraging effect that enables grantees to raise additional funds from other sources. Also, the Institute seeks grantees whose work can have a multiplier effect; often a start-up grant from the Institute enables the grantee to launch a project with successful outcomes that can be easily transferred to other locales and institutions.

SOLICITED GRANTS

In fiscal year 1990, the solicited grant competition concentrated on two topics—prospects for peace in Central and Eastern Europe and war, peace, and conflict resolution in Latin America and the Caribbean. The fiscal year 1991 topics included conflict resolution in Latin America and the Caribbean, again, and the development of educational and training materials for secondary school teachers in international peace, conflict resolution, human rights, and security studies. Fiscal year 1992 topics are, ethnic conflict, arms control, and Middle East peace and security.

GRANTS BRING RESULTS

Institute grants have resulted in dozens of books and book-length manuscripts published by or under contract to such distinguished academic and commercial presses as Harvard, Princeton, Oxford, Syracuse, Lexington, and Praeger. (See box.) More than 100 grantee-produced articles have appeared in professional journals, including *Foreign Affairs*, *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *World Politics*, *Orbis*, *Strategic Review*, and *Policy Studies*. Grantees have presented their findings in *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Newsweek*, and *The Los Angeles Times*; before committees of the Con-

Grant Program Generates Wide Variety of Products

The Institute's Grant Program, now fully operational for more than four years, is generating a substantial volume of products that are directed to the policymaking, policy analysis, and scholarly communities, as well as the general public.

These products include, in fiscal years 1990 and 1991, more than 30 books published, 26 book manuscripts in progress, more than 100 articles published or in manuscripts, and an estimated 16 videos in various forms. Book publishers include the university and commercial presses in the United States and overseas.

Listed below are a few of the books that critics have singled out as particularly significant in their fields.

After the Cold War: Questioning the Morality of Nuclear Deterrence. **Charles Kegley and Kenneth Schwab, eds. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991.**

After the Wars: Reconstruction in Afghanistan, Indochina, Central America, Southern Africa, and the Horn of Africa. **Anthony Lake, ed. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1990.**

The American Search for Peace: Moral Reasoning, Religious Hope, and National Security. **George Weigel and John Langan, eds. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1991.**

Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies. **Joseph Montville, ed. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990.**

The Conflict Helix: Principles and Practices of Interpersonal, Social, and International Conflict and Cooperation. **Rudolph Rummel. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1991.**

Controlling the Sword: The Democratic Governance of National Security. **Bruce M. Russett. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.**

Cross, Crescent and Sword: The Justification and Limitation of War in Western and Islamic Traditions. **James Turner Johnson and John Kelsay, eds. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.**

East Central Europe and the USSR. **Richard F. Staar, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.**

The Horn of Africa: From War to Peace. **Paul Henze. London: Macmillan, 1991.**

Just War and Jihad: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions. **James Turner Johnson and John Kelsay, eds. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.**

gress; on National Public Radio; and on the Voice of America. Institute-funded education projects have resulted in videos, study guides, simulations, and curriculum materials that are now being used throughout the nation. Seminars and workshops for teachers; training programs for practitioners; and radio, television, and lecture programs for the general public have increased the country's overall understanding of issues in peace and peacemaking. In addition, grants have resulted in the development of resource guides and helped augment library holdings and services in such fields as diplomatic history, international law, peace, security, and conflict resolution.

Small sampling of books published through Institute grant projects.

Grant Awards by Category and Topic* (funding in thousands of dollars)

Area	No. of Awards	Funding	Area	No. of Awards	Funding	Area	No. of Awards	Funding
International Conflict Resolution	6	$ 150	Secondary Education	19	$ 827	Library	12	$ 292
Arms Control	9	215	Higher Education	9	241			
East–West Relations	12	284	Public Education	4	112			
International Organizations and International Law	6	93	Conflict Management Training	8	165			
Rule of Law, Human Rights, and Democracy	13	327						
Regional and National Conflicts and Regional Security	56	1,526						
Religion, Ethics, and Nonviolence	3	50						
Other	4	100						
TOTALS								
Research Projects	109	$2,745	**Education Projects**	40	$1,345	**Library and Information Services Projects**	12	$ 292

*Fiscal years 1990 and 1991. Grant awards approved by the Board of Directors from October 1, 1989, through September 30, 1991.

Spreading the Word

The Institute's Grant Program does more than receive applications, advise the Board of Directors on meritorious grantees, and administer the program. When appropriate, the Institute offers prospective grantees advice about applying to the Institute, advises them in applying for grants from other institutions, and presents such information at appropriate forums around the nation.

Listed below are a few outreach presentations by Institute staff undertaken during fiscal years 1990 and 1991.

Funding Dispute Resolution Research: Programs, Perspectives and Issues, Society of Professionals in Dispute Resolution, Washington, D.C.

Grant-Writing Workshops:
University of Texas at Austin, Texas.
East–West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii.
Peace Studies Association annual conference, Washington, D.C.

The Impact of USIP Research on Public Policy, National Conference on Peace and Conflict Resolution, Charlotte, North Carolina.

Funding Opportunities in Middle East Studies: Federal Agencies, The Middle East Studies Association of North America annual meeting, Washington, D.C.

Funding Research and Education in Peace and Security Studies, Whittier College, California.

Grantees Bring Their Projects to the Institute

Following is a list of selected grant project activities conducted at the Institute:

Workshop on "Future Soviet Relations in Eastern Europe," conducted by Richard Staar, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University.

Presentation on "Soviet Third World Policies," conducted by George Mirsky and Nodare Simonia, IMEMO (Moscow).

Workshop on "Arms Control and International Security," conducted by Edward Hamilton, the Strom Thurmond Institute, Clemson University, Institute Peace Fellow Robin Ranger, and Cathleen Fisher, Defense Forecasts, Inc.

Seminar on "National Security and Economic Interdependence," conducted by Harry Gelber, University of Tasmania.

Presentation on "The Relevance of Democracy for Israeli–Palestinian Peace," by Edy Kaufman and Shukri Abed.

Simulation exercise on "Principles and Processes of UN Security Council and Negotiation," conducted by Chris Coleman, International Peace Academy.

Following are brief descriptions of all grants approved by the Institute Board of Directors between October 1, 1989, and September 30, 1991.

INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT TRAINING

Training on Civilian Oversight of Armed Forces	Training to enhance prospects for increased civilian oversight of the armed forces in Central and Eastern Europe. Recently appointed or elected senior civilian officials from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary will be invited to participate in a series of briefings and seminars on executive and legislative oversight mechanisms for budgetary and defense policy control in the United States and West Europe.	**Atlantic Council of the United States** Washington, D.C. John Baker, Project Director $25,000 (99-90F)
Radio Series	Radio series of ten programs that explores the potential for resolving major conflicts throughout the world. In the series, two experts with opposing views on a particular conflict discuss issues with the assistance of a facilitator skilled in conflict resolution techniques. The series will be broadcast by public, educational, and commercial stations throughout the United States and Canada.	**Cambridge Forum** Cambridge, Massachusetts Herbert Vetter, Project Director $15,000 (046-2-90)
Medieval English Feuds and Contemporary Dispute Settlement	An interdisciplinary analysis that uses feuds in medieval England to illuminate both contemporary questions on third-party dispute settlement and the relationships between political and legal institutions and societal regulation of conflict.	**Cornell University** Ithaca, New York Paul R. Hyams, Project Director $30,000 (49-91S)
Training and Curriculum Materials for Israeli Secondary School Educators	Training, curriculum development, and other materials for Arab and Jewish Israeli secondary school educators on conflict resolution and intercommunal understanding. Resulting materials will be published in Hebrew, Arabic, and English.	**Givat Haviva Educational Foundation** New York, New York Sarah Ozacky-Lazar and Walid Sadik, Project Directors $20,000 (8-91S)
NATO Workshop	Workshop on negotiation and conflict resolution for NATO and Warsaw Pact diplomats stationed in the United States.	**Harvard University** Cambridge, Massachusetts Roger Fisher, Project Director $20,000 (102-3)
Multitrack Diplomacy	Systems analysis of the multitrack diplomacy network, including a conceptual and practical framework for describing and understanding nine areas, or tracks, of diplomacy that attempt to foster international peacemaking.	**Iowa Peace Institute** Grinnell, Iowa John McDonald and Louise Diamond, Project Directors $25,000 (072-2-90)

Conflict Management Training in Poland	Cooperative effort with the Polish Ministry of Education and the University of Warsaw to develop an Institute for Participatory Conflict Management in Warsaw that will attempt to expand the field of study in conflict resolution within Poland, introduce conflict resolution models and practices within the Polish educational system, and create a Polish–American collaborative relationship in the field.	**National Institute for Citizen Participation and Negotiation** San Francisco, California Raymond Shonholtz, Project Director $35,000 (039-3)
Hungarian Conflict Management Training Program	Training program to create the capacity within Hungarian ministries, organizations, and unions to manage conflict and change through negotiation and mediation and also work with the Polish Center for Negotiation and Conflict Resolution to create an international base for mediation of transnational disputes.	**National Institute for Citizen Participation and Negotiation** San Francisco, California Raymond Shonholtz, Project Director $20,000 (65-90F)
Improving Skills of Soviet and Eastern European Directors of Conflict Management Centers	Participation by a director and trainer from conflict management centers in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in a training program designed specifically for them by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and a national conference on peacemaking and conflict resolution—both events are intended to improve the participants' understanding of the structural components and theoretical underpinnings of mediation processes and rule of law systems.	**Partners for Democratic Change** San Francisco, California Raymond Shonholtz, Project Director $5,000 (646)
Soviet Negotiation and Mediation Training	Joint project with the Soviet Center for Conflict Resolution to train Soviet government and union officials in American principles and procedures of labor negotiation, mediation, and collective bargaining.	**Search for Common Ground** Washington, D.C. Betsy Cohen, Project Director $20,000 (84-90F)
Regional Conflict Management and Resolution	Conference and workshops to develop a new conceptual framework for understanding regional conflicts, and to fashion key policy tools that encourage cooperation in the resolution and management of these conflicts.	**University of Illinois** Urbana–Champaign, Illinois Roger Kanet, Project Director $20,000 (114-90F)
Third-Party Mediation in Third World Conflicts	Examination of different approaches to third-party mediation of Third World conflicts, including a series of typologies based on the conceptual premises of the more prominent approaches to third-party mediation, the difficulty of mediator access to conflicts, the transition from unofficial to official diplomacy, and the impact on mediation efforts of superpower involvement in protracted social conflicts.	**University of London** London, England Michael Banks, Stephen Chan, and Vivienne Jabri, Project Directors $35,000 (095-2-90)

Interethnic Conflict and Negotiation in the Soviet Union	Joint study, with the Institute of Psychology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, of interethnic conflict and negotiation, focusing on relationships between the Soviet republics and Moscow and between ethnic groups within the republics.	**University of Virginia,** Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction Charlottesville, Virginia Vamik D. Volkan, Project Director $25,000 (96-91S)
Seminars and Conflict Management Training for Arab and Jewish Israeli Leaders	Seminar series on issues of shared concern and training in conflict management for young leaders within the Arab and Jewish Israeli communities.	**Young Leadership Forum** Nazareth, Israel Mohammed M. Darawshe, Project Director $20,000 (145-91S)

ARMS CONTROL

Regional Approaches to Nuclear Proliferation	Book on regional approaches to nuclear nonproliferation that explores regional deterrence dynamics, arms control, and confidence-building measures that might promote nonproliferation.	**Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament** Ottawa, Canada Tariq Rauf, Project Director $30,000 (16-90F)
Herbert Hoover and Arms Control	Book about Herbert Hoover's experiences in trying to achieve genuine arms reduction.	**Coe College** Cedar Rapids, Iowa Donald Lisio, Project Director $32,000 (119-1-89)
Evolution of U.S.–Soviet Arms Control Implementation	Study of the evolution of implementation and enforcement of U.S.–Soviet arms control agreements.	**Harvard University** Cambridge, Massachusetts Stanley Riveles, Project Director $22,000 (117-91S)
Arms Sales Policies of Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Sweden, and Britain	Examination of arms sales policies in Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Sweden, and Britain, focusing on national aims for arms sales, the pressures for and against arms sales, and the scale and scope of weapons transfers. Recommendations for controlling the flow of arms and a model depicting the impact of changes in the flow of arms sales by the five nations under study will also be produced.	**Laurent, Paul H.** Lancashire, England Paul H. Laurent, Project Director $20,000 (111-91S)
Chemical Weapons Control—Libya and Beyond	Study of international events associated with the 1987–89 Libyan chemical weapons factory episode, and the development of policy options to combat threats posed by chemical weapons.	**Northern Illinois University** DeKalb, Illinois Thomas Wiegele, Project Director $15,000 (015-2-90)

Arms Control Compliance Regimes	Continuation of a study on the effectiveness of compliance policy for bilateral and multilateral arms control agreements in the evolving international security environment of the 1990s.	**Ranger, Robin** Chevy Chase, Maryland Robin Ranger, Project Director $15,000 (069-3)
Naval Arms Control	Research on contemporary naval arms control, including the problems of asymmetry in force levels, the difficulties of verification, the feasibility of multilateral disarmament, and defense policies that might provide new opportunities for naval arms control.	**University of Bordeaux** Bordeaux, France Herve Coutau-Bergarie, Project Director $27,500 (144-90F)
Biological Weapons Controls	Examination of verification provisions that may strengthen the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention, including a proposal for a global epidemiological surveillance program—under multinational supervision—that, it is hoped, will provide the capability to define the source of the etiological agent of major epidemics.	**University of California at Davis** Davis, California Mark Wheelis, Project Director $20,000 (049-3-90)
Deterrence and Long-Term Stability	Study of deterrence as an aggregate of nuclear resources and specific decisions, focusing on whether proliferation and the increasing sophistication of nuclear weaponry accounts for seemingly incompatible policy shifts, and the effects of tactical nuclear weapons capabilities, nuclear proliferation, and defense structures on deterrence and escalation in crisis situations.	**Vanderbilt University** Nashville, Tennessee Jack Kugler and Frank Zagare, Project Directors $33,524 (532)

EAST–WEST RELATIONS

East–West Security Challenges	Book on options for the evolution of the European security structure through analysis of the interaction of Soviet and German policies, including the identification of alternative patterns for the evolution of the Soviet–German security relationship, the implication of such patterns for alternative security regimes, and the process of peaceful resolution of East–West security challenges.	**American Institute for Contemporary German Studies** Washington, D.C. Robbin Laird, Project Director $30,000 (035-2-90)
New Approaches to European Security	Articles on the restructuring of the European regional security system, including criteria for a new conceptual framework for security in Europe, and the steps to be taken in both East and West toward a transformed institutional structure.	**Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)** Washington, D.C. Robert Hunter, Project Director $30,000 (061-3)

Transitioning from Hostile to Peaceful Relations	Comparison of four cases where states have made the transition from hostile to peaceful relations, including the identification of conditions that distinguish successfully transformed relations from relations that revert back to hostility. The research is intended to identify the conditions necessary for a stable, cooperative East–West relationship.	**Cornell University** Ithaca, New York Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, Project Directors $25,000 (199-91S)
History of Wartime Regimes in Central and Eastern Europe	Comparative social history of wartime regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, including the social consequences of the Second World War, which are seen as a prerequisite to a thorough understanding of the post-war imposition, institutionalization, and dissolution of Communist regimes in Europe.	**Emory University** Atlanta, Georgia Jan Gross, Project Director $20,000 (17-90F)
Communications between Hostile Governments: U.S.–Romanian Relations, 1985–89	Analysis of the attempts of the U.S. and Romanian governments to influence each other during the last four years of President Ceausescu's dictatorship. The analysis is being undertaken by the two chief diplomatic representatives of each country who are focusing on how each government interpreted specific initiatives by the other, the effects of those initiatives, and lessons that apply to communications between hostile governments.	**Georgetown University** Washington, D.C. Roger Kirk and Mircea Raceanu, Project Directors $25,000 (58-91S)
U.S. Foreign Aid in Europe Today	Examination of the lessons of the U.S. foreign aid policy in the post–World War II period that may be of relevance to newly initiated and impending U.S. aid programs in Central and Eastern Europe.	**Harvard University** Cambridge, Massachusetts Nicholas Eberstadt, Project Director $25,000 (SG 124-0)
Soviet Thinking about Negotiations	Investigation of new Soviet research on international negotiation, including comparisons of current Soviet thinking about negotiations with Moscow's views in the past, traditional American understanding of the Soviet view, and actual Soviet negotiating behavior.	**Mount Vernon College** Washington, D.C. Paul Bennett, Project Director $10,000 (078-3)
Soviet–German Nonoffensive Defense Concepts	Study of Soviet and German concepts of nonoffensive defense and common security, including an examination of whether the Soviets, in borrowing the Germans' basic concept of offensive defense, are attempting to manipulate Western perceptions of a Soviet military threat to Europe.	**National Institute for Public Policy** Fairfax, Virginia Robert Rudney and Marian Leighton, Project Directors $20,000 (063-3)
U.S.–Soviet Cooperation and the Third World	Research on prospects for fundamentally changing the U.S.–Soviet relationship from one of hostility to one of cooperation, especially over disputes in the Third World.	**Naval War College** Portsmouth, Rhode Island Marshall Brement, Project Director $34,320 (27-90)

Soviet–Eastern European Relations	Research on the future of political, security, and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, with emphasis on nonviolent resolution of potential intraregional ethnic conflict.	**Staar, Richard**, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University Palo Alto, California Richard Staar, Project Director $18,000 (SG 79-0)
U.S.–European Security Needs	Research on long-term U.S. security needs in Europe in light of the ongoing collapse of Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe, including future Western arms control objectives, the future of NATO, and the feasibility of a new security structure based on the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe.	**Union of Concerned Scientists** Washington, D.C. Jonathan Dean, Project Director $25,000 (SG 133-0)
Soviet Military in the 1920s	Study of changes instituted by the Soviet military in the 1920s that could serve as a framework for understanding similar changes now under way.	**Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars** Washington, D.C. Dale R. Herspring, Project Director $22,000 (125-90F)

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

Changing Role of the UN Secretary General	Conference and book on the impact that the changing international political climate is having on the role of the United Nations Office of the Secretary General, concentrating on changes that could increase the secretary general's effectiveness within the UN system.	**City University of New York** New York, New York Benjamin Rivlin, Project Director $15,000 (119-90F)
UN Standing Military Force	Assessment of the feasibility and alternative forms of a United Nations standing military force with combat and self-defense capabilities for deployment as a deterrent or in response to aggression.	**International Economic Studies Institute** Washington, D.C. Timothy W. Stanley, Project Director $20,000 (159-91S)
Crimes Under the Law of War	Comprehensive study of law of war crimes, including a history of the evolution of the law of war and the enforcement of penalties for violations thereof; specific actions that constitute crimes against peace, conventional war crimes, and crimes against humanity; and procedural matters related to investigations, jurisdiction, extradition, trial procedures, and punishment.	**Naval War College Foundation** Newport, Rhode Island Howard Levie, Project Director $8,216 (49-90F)

Documentary Film	Completion of the documentary film, "Blue Helmets," which examines the role of the United Nations in promoting international peace and conflict resolution through its worldwide peacekeeping operations. The film was distributed over the Public Broadcasting Service	**Pacific Street Film Projects, Inc.** Brooklyn, New York Steven Fischler, Project Director $15,000 (013-2-90)
Rules for Avoiding Conflicts	Examination of rules for avoiding conflict and promoting cooperation, including an identification of the types of rules that regulate international and transnational cooperation, and a comparison of these rules to rules adopted by the European Community in the Single Market.	**University of Strathclyde** Glasgow, Scotland Richard Rose, Project Director $20,000 (42-91S)
Multilateral Organizations and Regional War Avoidance	Study of how the risk of regional war can be reduced through more effective use of multilateral organizations.	**Yale University** New Haven, Connecticut James Sutterlin, Project Director $15,000 (086-3)

RULE OF LAW, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND DEMOCRACY

Regime Type and Prospects for Conflict Resolution	Monograph that attempts to identify types of political–governmental systems that tend to increase (or decrease) the likelihood of successful international arbitration and mediation.	**Boise State University** Boise, Idaho Raymond Gregory, Project Director $10,000 (120-3)
Democracy and the Avoidance of War	Historical examination of why some democratic states do not war against each other while others do, including the development of hypotheses about the characteristics of democracies that are key to the avoidance of war.	**Florida State University** Tallahassee, Florida James Lee Ray, Project Director $30,000 (22-91S)
Rule of Law in Developing Societies	Study of the role that the rule of law plays in a developing society such as Egypt, the implications of the Egyptian case for other regimes in the Middle East, and whether Western-style legal systems can work successfully in emerging pluralist societies to mediate dramatic political change.	**George Washington University** Washington, D.C. Nathan Brown, Project Director $10,000 (101-90F)
Regime Type and War and Peace	Articles on research and testing of the general hypothesis that autonomous political units with more political participation show less warfare with one another than with less participatory political units, even when appropriate controls are introduced into the analysis.	**Human Relations Area Files** New Haven, Connecticut Melvin Ember, Carol R. Ember, and Bruce M. Russett, Project Directors $20,000 (067-2-90)

Western European Political Initiatives for Democracy	Research on recent Western European political initiatives designed to facilitate the consolidation of liberal democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and free communication in the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe, including an appraisal of political conditions and the need for assistance; and an evaluation of relevant policies and actions of the European Community, the Council of Europe, individual governments, and nongovernmental organizations.	**Hungarian Research Institute of Canada** Toronto, Canada Bennett Korvig, Project Director $33,000 (SG 8-0)
Threats to Democracy in Eastern Europe	Survey, identification, cataloging, and analysis of potential subnational and international threats to the evolution of democracy in Eastern Europe. The project will focus on problems that could lead to outside intervention and/or affect Western security interests. Issues to be examined include the transition of regimes, border tensions, nationality conflicts, ethnic antagonisms, religious persecution, and labor strife.	**International Institute for Strategic Studies** London, England Hans Binnendijk, Project Director $30,000 (SG 57-0)
Democracy and Aggression	Study of the underlying features of democracies—particularly accountability and guarantees of individual rights—that lead to less aggressive external relations.	**Progressive Foundation** Washington, D.C. Stanley Kober, Project Director $11,000 (110-91S)
Repatriation of Refugees	Study of programs for repatriating refugees after changes in their home country, focusing on Bangladesh, Zimbabwe, and Afghanistan.	**Refugee Policy Group** Washington, D.C. Dennis Gallagher and Susan Forbes Martin, Project Directors $35,000 (610)
Problem Areas for Polish Democracy	Research on problem areas for the development of Polish local democracy, with special attention to the nature, role, and functioning of democratic decision making in local government; models for democracy; the relation of democratic forms to history and culture; conflict resolution in local democratic government; pluralism and the development of pluralist institutions in support of democracy; and the participation of women in the development of democratic local government.	**Rutgers University** New Brunswick, New Jersey James Turner Johnson, Project Director $30,000 (SG67-0)

New Democracy and Local Governance	Cross-national, collaborative research on the climate for democracy at the local level in three Eastern European countries (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia), three former USSR republics (Lithuania, Russia, and Ukraine), Austria, Germany, Sweden, and the United States. The research program will collect empirical data on the democratic political developments taking place at the local level within a global context; bring previously excluded scholars into the international community of social scientists; train graduate students in comparative research; and draw an historical picture of political systems in transition, comparing those processes with evolution and incremental reforms in established democracies.	**University of Hawaii** Honolulu, Hawaii Betty M. Jacob and Richard A. Dubanowski, Project Directors $40,000 (91-91S)
Democratic Political Institutions and Practices	Study of the impact that changes in values have on the implementation of democratic political institutions and practices at the local level, focusing on Germany, Poland, Yugoslavia, Sweden, and the United States.	**University of Hawaii Foundation** Honolulu, Hawaii Betty Jacob, Henry Teune, and Krzsztof Ostrowski, Project Directors $25,000 (645)
Human Rights in 100 Countries	Study of human rights performance of approximately 100 countries that focuses on the extent to which these nations observe human rights, are involved in internal and/or external conflict, and maintain high or low levels of military expenditures.	**University of Hawaii Foundation** Honolulu, Hawaii Michael Haas, Project Director $37,846 (090-3)
U.S.–Soviet Rule of Law Conference	Conference of American and Soviet legal scholars on expanding and strengthening the rule of law in the Soviet Union, including the exploration of long-term prospects for constitutional and legal reform in the areas of human rights and economic transformation.	**Yeshiva University**, Benjamin Cardozo School of Law New York, New York Stephen Marks, Project Director $15,000 (SG 149-0)

REGIONAL AND NATIONAL CONFLICTS AND REGIONAL SECURITY—AFRICA

Organization of African Unity	Study of measures for enhancing the organizational competence in mediation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), including development of an institutional framework or processes for facilitated conflict management by the OAU.	**George Mason University** Fairfax, Virginia Richard Rubenstein, Project Director $25,000 (106-90F)
Political Settlements and Negotiations in Regional Conflicts	Study of the political settlements and negotiations in contemporary regional conflicts such as Afghanistan, Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, and Nicaragua.	**George Washington University** Washington, D.C. Constantine Menges, Project Director $15,000 (055-2-90)

The Future of Eritrea	Study of Eritrea's future within the Horn of Africa in light of the upcoming referendum on Eritrea's independence, with particular attention to relations between Eritrea and Ethiopia.	**Morris Brown College** Atlanta, Georgia Amare Tekle and Betty Ruth Jones, Project Directors $20,000 (174-91S)
African Commission on Human and People's Rights	Study of the potential of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights in helping to establish and maintain human rights in Africa, including an assessment of the extent to which a functioning commission would enhance the likelihood of domestic and international peace on the continent.	**State University of New York at Buffalo** Buffalo, New York Claude E. Welch, Jr., Project Director $15,000 (194-91S)
Study Commission on African Conflicts	Establishment of a study commission on conflicts and diplomatic initiatives in Africa. The commission of African, Russian, and American experts will explore means of achieving cooperative solutions to conflicts in Africa.	**University of California at Los Angeles**, Center for International and Strategic Affairs Los Angeles, California Michael Intriligator, Project Director $45,000 (104-2-90)

REGIONAL AND NATIONAL CONFLICTS AND REGIONAL SECURITY—THE MIDDLE EAST

Post–Gulf War Conference	Conference on the social, political, and economic dimensions of the quest for order and stability in the post–Gulf War Arab world, including the Arab political order in the aftermath of the Gulf crisis, political reform and democratization, regional security, development and reconstruction, environmental degradation, humanitarian issues, development, and the role of external powers.	**The American University in Cairo** Cairo, Egypt John Swanson, Project Director $35,000 (80-91S)
Turkey and the Kurds	Analysis of Turkey's changing approach to the Kurdish struggle for autonomy and independence, including the implications of Turkey's new policies for Turkish Kurds, the Kurdish nationalist movement in the region, and U.S. foreign policy.	**George Washington University** Washington, D.C. Sabri Sayari, Project Director $27,500 (161-91S)
Democracy and the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict	Study of the relevance of democratic development in the resolution of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, with emphasis on the commitment to democratic ideals in both communities as an indicator of prospects for long-term peace and stability.	**Hebrew University of Jerusalem** Jerusalem, Israel Edy Kaufman, Project Director $48,000 (SG 91-9)

The Impact of the 1982 War in Lebanon	Study of the impact of the 1982 war in Lebanon on Israeli reserve soldiers' and protest leaders' perceptions of war as a means to achieve political goals.	**Hebrew University** Jerusalem, Israel Baruch Kimmerling, Project Director $20,000 (007-2-90)
Regional Arms Control	Edited volume on arms control in the Middle East, addressing such topics as nuclear proliferation, conventional arms transfers, confidence- and security-building measures, tacit arms control, and new verification technologies.	**Henry L. Stimson Center** Washington, D.C. Alan Platt, Project Director $29,845 (037-2-90)
Technological Cooperation and Peace	Assessment of the efficacy of technical and scientific cooperation in reducing international conflict through a study of the Cooperative Marine Technology Program for the Middle East. This cooperative venture between Egypt, Israel, and the United States may serve as a model for similar efforts to promote peace through technical cooperation both in the Middle East and elsewhere.	**New Jersey Marine Sciences Consortium** Ft. Hancock, New Jersey Robert B. Abel, Project Director $25,000 (134-91S)
Islamic Iran in the New World Order	Study of the place of the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI) in the new world order, including the IRI's probable foreign policy orientation—particularly in the Persian Gulf region—and likely shifts in that policy in the post-Khomeini era.	**University of Chicago** Chicago, Illinois Khosrow Shakeri, Project Director $30,000 (36-90F0)
U.S.–Israeli Post–Cold War Security Relationship	Study of U.S.–Israeli security relationship as affected by the changing perception of the Soviet threat.	**Puschel, Karen** Washington, D.C. Karen Puschel, Project Director $35,000 (058-2-90)
Phased Approach to Peace between Israelis and Palestinians	Education program to explore a phased approach to the achievement of peace between Israelis and Palestinians.	**Stages for Peace** Jerusalem, Israel Shmuel Toledano, Project Director $35,000 (22-90F)
Arab Conflict Management	Research on ways in which Arab states have attempted, since the late 1960s, to contain and manage conflicts and rivalries, avoid war, and preserve a measure of regional stability, including the effectiveness and utility of Arab conflict management techniques in pacifying current and possible future Middle East conflicts.	**Tel Aviv University** Tel Aviv, Israel Bruce Maddy Weitzman and Joseph Kostiner, Project Directors $25,000 (111-90F)
Economic Consequences of Middle East Peace Proposals	Study of the economic consequences and impact on Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians of current proposals in the Palestinian–Israeli peace process, focusing on such issues as resettlement costs, immigrant absorption, employment and income, trade, and the cost of financing a transition to peace.	**Washington Institute for Near East Policy** Washington, D.C. Patrick Clawson, Project Director $20,000 (020-3-90)

REGIONAL AND NATIONAL CONFLICTS AND REGIONAL SECURITY—ASIA

Post–Cold War Northeast Asia	Research on the development and assessment of possible approaches for a transition to a nonadversarial post–Cold War relationship among major powers in Northeast Asia, including Russian, Chinese, Japanese, and American perspectives on the nature of the relationship; and modalities for easing tensions, reducing forces, and enhancing security cooperation in the region.	**Banning, Garrett** Alexandria, Virginia Garrett Banning, Project Director $30,000 (76-90F)
Ethno-Political Relations in the Sino–Soviet Border Region	Research on ethno-political relationships in the Sino–Soviet border region, with particular emphasis on cross–border interactions among Inner Asian Muslim peoples and the dynamics of Mongolian national assertiveness across jurisdictions in China and the former Soviet Union.	**Central Asian Foundation** Kansasville, Wisconsin Paul B. Henze, Project Director $30,000 (36-91S)
India and Security in South Asia	Examination of the prospects for peace and war in South Asia and the Indian Ocean Basin, focusing on the reasons for India's military buildup; India's role in regional and international relations; perceived military threats to India; elite attitudes toward war and peace, collective security, and conflict resolution; and the regional implications of India's foreign and defense policies.	**Foreign Policy Research Institute** Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Ross H. Munro, Project Director $40,000 (94-91S)
U.S.–North Vietnamese Wartime Negotiations	Continued study of negotiations between the United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) during the Vietnam War.	**George Mason University** Fairfax, Virginia Bui Diem and Nguyen Hung, Project Directors $15,000 (103-3)
Stability and the Korean Peninsula	Research on confidence-building measures to increase stability and reduce tensions on the Korean peninsula.	**Henry L. Stimson Center** Washington, D.C. Catherine Fisher, Project Director $11,550 (090-2-90)
Conflict Resolution in the South China Sea	Research on the potential for conflict and means for managing and resolving interstate rivalry in the South China Sea, including development of a paradigm for Third World conflict prevention and resolution in the post–Cold War strategic environment.	**International Center for Development Policy** Washington, D.C. Ning Lu, Project Director $30,000 (47-90F)

The UN and the Cambodian Conflict	Research on the Cambodian conflict and the efforts to resolve it through political compromise—brokered and administered by the United Nations—focusing on details of the UN plan of August 1990 and its current status, and the possible future course of the Cambodian peace process if the UN plan stalls or collapses.	**Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute** Washington, D.C. Fredrick Z. Brown, Project Director $22,000 (19-91S)
Stability and Peacekeeping in South Asia	Study of strategic stability and peacekeeping in South Asia, including internal security and the threat of national disintegration, conflict management and the threats to institutions in countries that are currently democratic, and transregional spillover effects and the threats to regional security.	**Marquette University** Milwaukee, Wisconsin Raju G.C. Thomas, Project Director $20,000 (82-91S)
Soviet–Japanese–American Relations and Northeast Asia Security and Economics	Study of the impact of Soviet–Japanese–American relations on the development of new international security and economic arrangements in Northeast Asia, including the Northern Islands issue, and the ongoing negotiations that may result in a settlement that will establish new parameters for post–Cold War security and economic order in the region.	**National Bureau of Asian and Soviet Research** Seattle, Washington Herbert Ellison and Donald Hellman, Project Directors $30,000 (122-90F)
Conflict Reduction Workshop	Workshop for scholars and practitioners from policy institutes in the Asia–Pacific region at which participants will develop strategies for anticipating and reducing the potential for regional conflict.	**Pacific Forum** Honolulu, Hawaii Richard L. Grant, Project Director $30,000 (115-3)
The Changing U.S. Military Presence in the Philippines	Study of approaches for the peaceful resolution of issues of sovereignty and compensation between the United States and the Philippines, including the changing nature of the U.S. military presence and the positive benefits of those changes to both countries and the region in general.	**Pacific Futures Development Center** Manila, Philippines Alejandro Melchor, Jr., Project Director $30,000 (041-3-90)
Soviet–American Cooperation and Conflict Resolution in Afghanistan and Kashmir	Joint research between Soviet and American scholars on ways to reduce tensions in Afghanistan and Kashmir, focusing on possible cooperative efforts by the United States and the former Soviet Union to help resolve these conflicts.	**The Asia Society** New York, New York K.A. Namkung, Project Director $30,000 (27-91S)
Asia–Pacific Dialogue Conference	Second in a series of conferences—*The Asia–Pacific Dialogue*—focusing on the continuing conflict within Cambodia, and on the conflict between North and South Korea. Participants will include leading scholars and practitioners from the Asia–Pacific region.	**University of Hawaii Institute for Peace** Honolulu, Hawaii Stephen Uhalley, Project Director $25,000 (116-3)

Chinese Policies Toward Korea	Study of China's Korea policy and the implications of that policy for peace and security in East Asia, including key factors in China's Korea policy, the evolution of this policy since 1949, and possible future options for China and her neighbors in light of changing security relationships in East Asia.	**Washington Center for China Studies** Washington, D.C. Hao Jia and Zhuang Qu-bing, Project Directors $44,000 (123-90F)

REGIONAL AND NATIONAL CONFLICTS AND REGIONAL SECURITY—LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Civil-Military Relations in Latin America	Continuation of a series of studies on civil-military relations in Latin America, focusing on extraregional developments such as the easing of East–West tensions, intraregional issues such as drug trafficking, narco-terrorism, environmental degradation, and the evolution of democratic politics.	**American University** Washington, D.C. Louis W. Goodman, Project Director $30,000 (SG 28-0)
Fostering Democratic Governments	Research on issues challenging the consolidation of democratic governance in Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Peru, focusing on techniques the civilian governments of these countries might employ to combat insurgencies, drug trafficking, and other sustained violence while preserving and expanding the protection of basic democratic freedoms.	**Aspen Institute** (Inter-American Dialogue) Washington, D.C. Richard Nuccio, Project Director $40,000 (SG 100-0)
Impact of Conflict-Resolution Efforts in Panama	Research on the implications for U.S. policy of recent events in Panama, including reasons for the failure to peacefully resolve the Panama crisis, the impact of U.S. military action during the crisis, and the evolution of democracy in Panama, and lessons that may be applied to other instances of political transition from authoritarian to democratic regimes.	**Center for Strategic and International Studies** Washington, D.C. Georges Fauriol, Project Director $30,000 (SG 81-0)
Democracy and Military Expenditures in South America	Comparative study of military expenditures as a potential threat to development and democratization in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, and Peru from 1969 through 1989, including the impact of defense spending on growth, savings and investment, and balance of payments.	**Centro de Investigaciones Europeo–Latinoamericanas (EURAL)** Buenos Aires, Argentina Thomas Scheetz, Project Director $20,000 (182-90F)
Peruvian Drug Trafficking	Research on drug trafficking as a security and foreign policy issue in Peru, including the nature of the threat as defined in producing, consumer, and transit countries; the local and regional implications of drug trafficking; and national and multilateral approaches to combating and eliminating the problem.	**Centro Peruano de Estudios Internacionales (CEPEI)** Lima, Peru Alejandro Deustua Caravedo, Project Director $30,000 (SG 51-0)

Transition from Dictatorship to Democracy in Argentina	Research on democratic institutions and human rights policies during periods of transition from dictatorship to democracy, focusing on the treatment of former government officials and on the responses of the Argentine judiciary and military to the transitional policies of the Alfonsin and Menem governments from 1983 through 1990, with comparisons between experiences in Chile and Uruguay.	**Facultad Latinoamericanas de Ciencias Sociales** Buenos Aires, Argentina Jaime Malamud-Goti, Project Director $34,500 (SG 83-0)
Civilian-Military Dialogues in Argentina	Civilian–military dialogues to develop a clearer understanding of the role of the armed forces in a democratic society and of appropriate civilian oversight of the military in Argentina. Materials for training a professional civilian staff, particularly for Argentina's congressional defense communities, will also be prepared.	**Fontana, Andres** Buenos Aires, Argentina Andres Fontana, Project Director $10,000 (201-91S)
Cocaine Trafficking in Colombia and the Andes	Analysis of various approaches to the problem of the cocaine trade in Colombia and elsewhere in the Andes, including a review of the possible policy of negotiations with drug traffickers (since implemented by the government of Colombia), and examination of ways to use market forces to shift large numbers of Andean coca farmers and cocaine processors into growing alternative crops or other occupations.	**Foreign Policy Research Institute** Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Rensselaer W. Lee III, Project Director $30,000 (SG 25-0)
Sources of Conflict in Nicaragua and El Salvador	Examination of the internal and external sources of conflict in Nicaragua and El Salvador during the 1980s, with particular reference to Soviet policy and involvement, and changes that have effected positive movement in each country toward peace and democratic governance, including suggestions of ways for each country to achieve full reconciliation between opposing groups and democratic civilian control over the military.	**Georgetown University** Washington, D.C. Sergo A. Mikoyan, Project Director $46,000 (SG 39-91)
Effectiveness of the Inter-American Security System	Research on the effectiveness of the existing inter-American security system to deal with new security threats to the Western Hemisphere, including proposals and recommendations designed to stimulate public discussion and policy deliberation.	**Inter-American Security Educational Institute** Washington, D.C. William Perry, Project Director $40,000 (SG 66-0)
Resolving the Falklands/ Malvinas Dispute	Conference of Argentine and British experts on the Falklands/Malvinas dispute who will examine the juridical–historical claims and political realities that pose obstacles to the resolution of the dispute, and consider prospects under the Menem administration, resulting in a book.	**Johns Hopkins University**, School of Advanced International Studies Washington, D.C. Riordan Roett and Wayne Smith, Project Directors $30,000 (020-2-90)

Religion and Transitions from Military to Civilian Rule	Research on the role of the Roman Catholic Church in the transition from military to civilian rule and the development of democratic institutions and practices in Chile and Peru, including a look at the various "Catholic communities" in each country and the societal forces and pressures by which they are conditioned.	**Marquette University** Milwaukee, Wisconsin Michael Fleet and Brian Smith, Project Directors $22,000 (SG 142-0)
Mexico and Competitive Democracy	Study of whether Mexico can successfully make the transition from a one-party system to a competitive democracy, focusing on the political participation of Mexico's middle classes, with particular attention to the declining legitimacy of Mexico's ruling party among the middle classes.	**New School for Social Research** New York, New York Diane E. Davis, Project Director $25,832 (SG 71-91)
The Military and Democratic Rule in Uruguay	Research on the social and cultural characteristics of the officer corps in Uruguay's military and on ways to recruit officer corps candidates that will strengthen support within the army for democratic rule.	**PEITHO** Montevideo, Uruguay Juan Rial, Project Director $23,000 (SG-53-91)
Security Perceptions and Defense Policies	Comparison and analysis of the principal aspects of the defense policies of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Venezuela in terms of domestic and foreign influences—focusing on the "security perceptions" that tend to inspire such policies—and an examination of existing regional collective security arrangements that may serve as models for these countries.	**Programa de Seguimiento de las Politicas Exteriores Latinoamericanas (PROSPEL)** Santiago, Chile Boris Yopo, Project Director $30,000 (SG 112-0)
Conflict Resolution Policies in Colombia	Study of the conflict resolution policies and efforts to curtail violence by the past four Colombian presidents in reaction to violence perpetrated by guerrilla groups, drug dealers, and death squads.	**University of Alabama** Tuscaloosa, Alabama Harvey F. Kline, Project Director $35,000 (SG-24-91)
Nonviolent Opposition to Dictatorship in Panama	Research on nonviolent opposition to dictatorship, with a case study of the opposition organized by the National Civic crusade against General Manuel Noriega's dictatorship in Panama and the continued activities of the crusade during the initial years of civilian rule.	**University of Arkansas at Little Rock** Little Rock, Arkansas Margaret E. Scranton, Project Director $35,000 (SG-45-91)
Presidential Leadership and Democracy in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay	Study of presidential leadership following the return to democratic rule in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay in order to understand the degree to which elected presidents have been able to reshape inherited authoritarian structures and to provide effective, democratic leadership and forestall a return to military control.	**University of Chile**, Instituto de Ciencia Politica Santiago, Chile Alfredo Rehren, Project Director $20,000 (SG-26-91)

Political Ideology and Military Doctrine in Argentina and Ecuador	Research on the interplay of political ideology and military doctrine in shaping the perceptions of the military in Argentina and Ecuador about their role in politics, including alternative military doctrines and political strategies for encouraging more democratic patterns of civil-military relations.	**University of Colorado** Boulder, Colorado J. Samuel Fitch, Project Director $15,000 (SG 89-0)
Demilitarization of Central America	Research on the prospects for regionwide demilitarization of Central America, based upon multilateral, negotiated, phased reductions in the size and political autonomy of military institutions.	**University of New Mexico** Albuquerque, New Mexico William D. Stanley, Project Director $20,000 (SG-57-91)
Caribbean Security	Study of Caribbean regional security from the perspective of the small, democratic, independent states in the region, including the history of security policies in the region from 1940 to the present, an analysis of the new security threat posed by drug trafficking, and an assessment of external security.	**University of Sheffield** Sheffield, England Anthony Payne, Project Director $20,000 (SG 11-0)

REGIONAL AND NATIONAL CONFLICTS AND REGIONAL SECURITY—EUROPE

Ethnic Conflict and Muslim Emigrés in the West	Research on the potential for conflict between emigré Muslims in the West and the native citizens of their adopted countries, including ways in which these conflicts can be avoided or ameliorated.	**Foreign Policy Research Institute** Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Daniel Pipes, Project Director $25,000 (112-90F)
Workshops on Northern Ireland	Conference and series of workshops on the termination of deep-rooted and protracted conflict in Northern Ireland.	**George Mason University**, Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution Fairfax, Virginia James Laue, Project Director $11,000 (112-2-90 and 644)
Labor Migrations and Conflict	Study of the impact of labor migrations from Southern Europe and North Africa to Western Europe, including patterns of integration of nine labor migrant groups in six major European countries; and the potential for increased economic, social, political, and cultural conflicts between the labor migrants, other groups of foreign citizens, and different strata of the host country.	**Tufts University** Medford, Massachusetts Rosemarie Rogers, Project Director $35,000 (145-90F)

Ethnic Conflict in the USSR	Conference and published proceedings on ethnic conflict in the former USSR and its implications for international peace and stability. Among the issues to be addressed is the role of external groups in exacerbating and mediating ethnic conflict.	**University of Michigan** Ann Arbor, Michigan Zvi Gitelman, Ronald Suny, and Roman Szporluk, Project Directors $25,000 (073-3)

RELIGION, ETHICS, AND NONVIOLENCE

Religion, Morality, and War Text	College text and accompanying book of readings on religion, morality, and war that present religious and ethical perspectives on war and peace—from biblical times to the present.	**Swarthmore College** Swarthmore, Pennsylvania J. William Frost, Project Director $20,000 (131-91S)
Nonviolent Methods for Conflict Resolution	Study of the use of nonviolent methods to resolve fundamental political, social, and economic conflicts between dominant and disempowered segments of society.	**University of Colorado** Boulder, Colorado Paul Wehr, Guy Burgess, and Heidi Burgess $10,000 (172-90F)
Ethics of War and Nuclear Deterrence	Book on the ethics of war and nuclear deterrence, including the principles that determine when it is permissible to engage in a defensive war, the scope of violence that is morally permissible, and the ethical permissibility of certain exceptional types of nondefensive war.	**University of Illinois** Urbana-Champaign, Illinois Jeff McMahan, Project Director $25,000 (180-91S)

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Teacher Training on the Middle East	Seminar for high school and college teachers in West Virginian and central Appalachian institutions for the purpose of developing teaching materials on various conflicts and the prospects for peace in the Middle East.	**Alderson-Broaddus College** Philippi, West Virginia James W. Daddysman, Project Director $30,000 (198-91S)
International Education Curricula	Guidelines for strengthening precollegiate international education programs, including preparation of instructional materials, establishment of curriculum resource centers, and teacher education.	**Alliance for Education on Global and International Studies (AEGIS)** New York, New York Ronald Herring, Project Director $30,000 (088-2-90)

Guidelines for Balanced Education about the World	Guidelines and concept papers to help educators bring issues of global controversy into the classroom, and regional conferences and seminars (in five areas of the United States) to assist state and local educators in developing means for addressing those issues in their schools.	**Alliance for Education on Global and International Studies (AEGIS)** New York, New York Ronald Herring and Pamela L. Wilson, Project Directors $50,000 (169-91S)
Teacher Training on Arms Control	Two-week summer course on arms control and international security for secondary school social science teachers, including a lecture series and discussions in Washington, D.C., with federal government authorities representing the principal agencies in arms control and security.	**Clemson University** The Strom Thurmond Institute Clemson, South Carolina Edward Hamilton, Project Director $20,000 (031-3)
Teacher Training on Peace and Security Issues	Teacher training on peace and security issues that have arisen since 1945. Four weekend institutes, conducted by university faculty, will prepare selected American studies senior high school teachers to instruct other senior high school teachers in satellite workshops throughout the Mid-Atlantic region.	**Council of Chief State School Officers** Washington, D.C. Fred Czarra, Project Director $60,000 (SG-12-91)
Teacher Training on Religion and Ethnic Nationalism	Lecture and workshop program series on the impact of religion and ethnic nationalism in shaping the prospects for peace and conflict in the post-Cold War era. Conducted by FPRI and the Camden County College, the series will provide teacher training and curriculum development for secondary level teachers in the twenty-three high schools in Camden County, New Jersey.	**Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI)** Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Alan Luxenberg, Project Director $50,000 (SG-23-91)
Curriculum Development and Teacher Training in Peace and Security Studies	Peace and security studies curriculum development and training for secondary school teachers and faculty of historically black colleges and universities in Mississippi and Arkansas.	**Mississippi State University**, Center for International Security and Strategic Studies Mississippi State, Mississippi Janos Radvanyi, Project Director $20,000 (52-91S)
Peacekeeping Curriculum Development and Teacher Training	Continuing support of a curriculum project, including a program of teacher training workshops on the subject of peacekeeping in the nuclear age.	**National Institute for Public Policy** Fairfax, Virginia Keith Payne, Project Director $40,000 (107-90F)
World Affairs Teacher Workshops	Workshops for high school social science teachers aimed at improving the quality of instruction in world affairs through development of curricula on the changing nature of issues in world peace and security.	**New Hampshire Council on World Affairs** Durham, New Hampshire David Larson, Project Director $10,000 (123-3)

Peace and Conflict Management Curricula and Training	Curriculum materials on international peace and conflict management for high school social studies courses, and for establishment of a national training program that disseminates those materials and helps educational leaders—state social studies coordinators, district supervisors, district resource personnel—to create local programs to train classroom teachers.	**Ohio State University** (Mershon Center) Columbus, Ohio James E. Hart, Project Director $75,000 (SG-66-91)
Ethnic Conflict Curricula and Workshops	Development of curricular materials for both universities and high schools on ethnic conflict in Europe and in the Middle East. Teaching modules will be prepared, teacher training workshops organized, public forums held, and modules disseminated nationally.	**San Diego State University** San Diego, California Dipak Gupta and Elsie Begler, Project Directors $50,000 (SG-13-91)
Teacher Training on Conflict Analysis and Management	Training program in international conflict analysis and management for secondary school educators. The North Bay International Studies Project will use a series of educational programs, including a summer institute, to assist fifty teacher-leaders in developing a packet of lessons, which will then be distributed throughout California.	**Sonoma State University** Rohnert Park, California Carol B. Eber, Project Director $45,000 (SG-49-91)
Curricula Development on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union	Second-year support for the preparation and publication of the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education's (SPICE's) units on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, including *The Cultural Diversity of the Soviet Union* and *Post-War Eastern Europe*. A staff development institute will introduce these materials, which will be disseminated across the country.	**Stanford University** Stanford, California Norman Naimark, Project Director $50,000 (SG-42-91)
Global Change and Public Policy Computer Simulation	Computer simulation, an accompanying student manual, and a corresponding set of instructional activities to assist high school and university students in understanding the process of global change (including demographic, agricultural, energy, economic, political, and environmental change) and the difficulties of developing cooperative international public policy.	**University of Denver** Denver, Colorado Barry B. Hughes, Project Director $50,000 (SG-17-91)
International Conflict Management Teacher Training	Teacher training on managing international conflict, including peacekeeping, negotiation, third-party mediation, and citizen group intervention. Teachers will learn about substantive issues, develop alternative pedagogical strategies, and construct modules for dissemination to teachers in Kentucky.	**University of Kentucky** Lexington, Kentucky Karen A. Mingst and Angene H. Wilson, Project Directors $50,000 (SG-52-91)

International Negotiation and Foreign Policy Decision Making Simulations	An international communication and negotiation simulations project that builds on the experience of Whittier College in training high school students in international negotiation and foreign policy decision making: three new regional negotiation centers will be created, participating teachers will be trained, training materials and a technical manual will be assembled and disseminated, and simulation exercises will be implemented.	**University of Maryland** College Park, Maryland Jonathan Wilkenfeld and Joyce Kaufman, Project Directors $70,000 (SG-80-91)
Middle East Conflict Curriculum	Curricular materials for high schools and community colleges on the sources and possible resolutions to conflict in the Middle East, including subjects such as water scarcity, Arab–Israeli conflict, religious conflict, and income inequality. A summer institute for fifty teachers will be organized.	**University of Michigan** Ann Arbor, Michigan Robin Barlow, Project Director $45,000 (SG-65-91)
National Security and Peacemaking Curriculum	Curriculum on issues of national security and peacemaking from local, national, and international perspectives that will be used in St. Louis secondary schools. The project includes a summer institute for secondary school teachers.	**University of Missouri**, Center for International Studies St. Louis, Missouri Joel Glassman, Project Director $25,000 (056-2-90)
Peace Studies Teacher Training	Teacher training, and the development and dissemination of educational resources and teaching guides on international conflict, security, and peacemaking.	**University of Missouri**, Center for International Studies St. Louis, Missouri Joel Glassman, Project Director $20,000 (74-91S)

HIGHER EDUCATION

Peace and Conflict Resolution Curriculum	Cooperative curriculum development project to help five midwestern colleges integrate perspectives on peace and conflict resolution into courses across their curriculum.	**Concordia College**, Nobel Peace Prize Committee Decorah, Iowa Bruce Stuart, Project Director $35,000 (079-2-90)
Faculty Workshop on Soviet Union and Eastern Europe	College-level faculty workshop on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and evolving Soviet–American relations. Participants examined critical developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and their implications for world peace and security.	**Five College Consortium**, Program in Peace and World Securities Hampshire College Amherst, Massachusetts Michael Klare and William Taubman, Project Directors $15,000 (056-3-90)

Peace, Conflict Resolution, and International Studies	Expansion of the Mississippi State University Program on Peace, Conflict Resolution, and International Security Studies to the University of Alabama in Birmingham, and the University of Arkansas in Little Rock, including curriculum development, teacher training, and public outreach.	**Mississippi State University**, Center for International Security and Strategic Studies Mississippi State, Mississippi Janos Radvanyi, Project Director $50,000 (028-3)
Approaches to Teaching Peace and International Relations	Study of approaches to teaching undergraduate peace and international relations courses in Britain, France, Hungary, and the former USSR.	**Newbrough, Michael** Palomar College San Marcos, California Michael Newbrough, Project Director $6,000 (003-2-90)
Peace Studies for Historically Black Colleges and Universities	Study to assess the feasibility, including the requirements and opportunities, of teaching and researching international security, conflict management, and related subjects at historically black colleges and universities.	**Phelps-Stokes Fund** New York, New York Wilbert J. LeMelle, Project Director $15,000 (129-91S)
Cold War and New World Order Instructional Materials	Preparation of instructional manuals for high school teachers, college and university faculty, and civic organizations based on a 1990 Southern Center television program that brought former U.S. secretaries of state and defense together for a discussion of the end of the Cold War and the emerging new world order.	**Southern Center for International Studies** Atlanta, Georgia Julia Johnson White, Project Director $40,000 (9-91S)
Europe and USSR Conflict Resolution Curriculum	Development and dissemination of five curriculum units on the themes of conflict, conflict reduction, and conflict resolution in Western Europe, the former USSR, and Eastern Europe.	**Stanford University** Palo Alto, California Norman Naimark and Hans Weiller, Project Directors $30,000 (059-2-90)
Teacher Workshop on Global Cooperation	Workshop for college instructors on global cooperation, focusing on peace and security. The workshop is part of a series that also focuses on environmental and North–South issues, and is designed to increase awareness of the significant role of international education in advancing global cooperation.	**West Virginia University** Morgantown, West Virginia Sophia Peterson, Project Director $10,000 (132-3)
Computer-Aided Negotiation Simulation	Continuation of a computer-aided international negotiation simulation project (ICONS) for undergraduate students. The project will expand to include a simulation with a Pacific Basin emphasis for students in fifteen high schools throughout the western United States.	**Whittier College** Whittier, California Joyce Kaufman, Project Director $40,000 (113-3)

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Cross-Cultural Discussion Series	Citizen discussion series and follow-on high school- and college-level curriculum on alternative visions of European security. Material developed will be used as the basis for linked discussions between citizen study groups in America and their counterparts in Central Europe.	**Brown University** Providence, Rhode Island Susan Graseck, Project Director $12,000 (140-90F)
Clearinghouse for Peace Information	Public affairs and program activities to direct the attention of members of national educational organizations to the importance of international relations, with an emphasis on issues of peace, war, and conflict management.	**Council for the Advancement of Citizenship** Washington, D.C. John Buchanan, Project Director $74,900 (058-3)
Film Library on the UN	Development of a film library that emphasizes the UN's functional role in achieving world peace. The project will attempt to increase public understanding of the problem-solving activities of the UN.	**United Nations Association of Berkeley** Berkeley, California Carol Mosher, Project Director $10,000 (126-3)
Regional Conflicts Discussion Series and Radio Broadcasts	Series of public discussion programs and radio broadcasts on six regional conflicts for residents of the Bay Area. The series is intended to promote dialogue, increase public awareness, and provide teachers with materials for curriculum units.	**World Affairs Council of Northern California** San Francisco, California Kimberly Weichel, Project Director $15,000 (151-91S)

LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICES

Gray Literature on Peace and Security	Report on the feasibility of establishing a clearinghouse that provides systematic bibliographic control of reports, occasional papers, conference proceedings, substantive newsletters, and other literature that relate to peace, security, and international relations.	**ACCESS: A Security Information Service** Washington, D.C. Mary Lord, Project Director $25,200 (154-90F)
Arms Control and Disarmament Bibliography	Comprehensive, up-to-date bibliography to help researchers locate basic literature on contemporary and historical events that relate to arms control and disarmament issues.	**California State University** Los Angeles, California Richard Burns, Project Director $14,220 (20-90F)

International Law Library	Conversion of the remaining paper card catalog records of the International Law Collection of the Columbia University Law School Library into computer-usable electronic records that can be added to two national library computer networks.	**Columbia University** New York, New York Kent McKeever, Project Director $20,000 (022-2-90)
Peace Resource Catalog	Development of a comprehensive collection of peacekeeping resources that will be accessible to researchers and practitioners, including an on-line catalog of the Peace Academy's existing collection of some 3,500 volumes and documents.	**International Peace Academy** New York, New York Olara A. Otunnu, Project Director $25,000 (060-2-90)
Library and Resource Center	Development of a library and media resources center through the acquisition of books and videotapes on conflict management, global education, world trade, and international development.	**Iowa Peace Institute** Grinnell, Iowa John McDonald, Project Director $20,000 (038-3)
Regional Conflicts Software	Educational software program—the Computer-Aided System for Analysis of Local Conflicts (CASCON)—designed to improve understanding of repetitious patterns in regional conflicts.	**Massachusetts Institute of Technology** Cambridge, Massachusetts Lincoln Bloomfield, Project Director $40,000 (027-2-90)
Conflict Management and Peace Studies Materials Acquisition	Acquisition of simulations, books, and other materials related to conflict management and peace studies, for use at the secondary and collegiate levels. The project will also include training for personnel in the use of simulations in instructional settings.	**Oregon Peace Institute** Portland, Oregon Elizabeth Furse, Project Director $30,000 (169-90F)
Library Collection Acquisition	Development of a peace studies program through acquisition of basic library materials: materials will be made available to institutions and citizens in the Institute's service region to enhance research and educational opportunities.	**Rocky Mountain College** Billings, Montana Don Petterson, Project Director $15,000 (055-3)
Survey, Cataloging, and Microfilming of Peace Collection	Survey, cataloging, and microfilming unprocessed collections relating to peace currently in the Society's library.	**State Historical Society of Wisconsin** Madison, Wisconsin James P. Danky, Project Director $11,000 (062-2-90)
Computer-based Peace Research Information System	Improvements and expansion of the peace research component of the International Exchange Program—a system for sharing computer-based information pertaining to peace research and conflict resolution—through the collection of bibliographic and other information from other computer systems worldwide.	**University of Colorado** Boulder, Colorado Paul Wehr, Project Director $16,200 (170-91S)

Database of Genocide, Politicide, Massacres, and Other Killings	Continued development of a coded database for the purpose of examining cases of twentieth-century genocide, politicide, massacres, and other intentional killing, focusing on cases in the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and Taiwan.	**University of Hawaii Foundation** Honolulu, Hawaii R.J. Rummel, Project Director $25,000 (010-3)
Acquisition of Materials on Eastern European and Soviet Democratization	Acquisition and processing of new materials from Eastern Europe and Russia on democratization and peace, including books, and ephemera, such as pamphlets, irregular newspapers, broadsides, and posters documenting a historic period of change.	**Yale University** New Haven, Connecticut Jack Siggins, Project Director $25,000 (110-90F)

OTHER

Historical Concepts of Peace	Research on the idea of peace through history, based on selected documents and extracts from documents that represent the major concepts of peace from antiquity to World War II. The project is being undertaken in collaboration with the USSR Academy of Sciences.	**Council on Peace Research in History** Wittenberg University Springfield, Ohio Charles Chatfield, Project Director $40,000 (034-2)
Antiterrorist Policies and Terrorist Behavior	Study of the effects of antiterrorist policies on terrorist behavior, including an examination of the consequences of retaliatory policies taken by Israel, South Africa, and the United States.	**George Washington University** Washington, D.C. Jerrold Post and Ariel Merari, Project Directors $25,000 (616)
New International Order Conference	Conference and related anthology of invited papers on the emerging new international order of the post–Cold War world.	**St. Catherine's College** Oxford, England Robert Schuettinger, Project Director $30,000 (188-91S)
Terrorism and Conflicts	Research on terrorism that attempts to integrate the terrorist phenomenon with a larger class of social, legal, and political conflicts, including development of a general theory of the life cycle of terrorism-producing radical movements and an "early warning system," both to identify the potential for terrorism and to help prevent it through expert intervention.	**Sprinzak, Ehud** Rockville, Maryland Ehud Sprinzak, Project Director $20,000 (80-90F)
Conflict Control in the Kingdom of the Maya	Study of the system of conflict control during the period of the Kingdom of the Maya in Central America, including an examination of archaeological evidence to determine why this system of controlled conflict collapsed during the eighth century, precipitating a cycle of endemic warfare that eventually destroyed the entire civilization.	**Vanderbilt University** Nashville, Tennessee Arthur Demarest, Project Director $10,000 (082-3)

JENNINGS RANDOLPH FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

In-residence Distinguished Fellows and Peace Fellows at the Institute in October 1990.

The Jennings Randolph Fellowship Program supports outstanding individuals who are focusing their professional energies on determining the reasons for conflicts and evaluating methods for achieving peace. The Institute aims to attract fellows from a diverse pool of applicants, including university researchers, policy analysts, U.S. and foreign diplomats, officials or staff from international organizations, conciliators and mediators, journalists, educators, lawyers, clergy, social workers, business, other world leaders, and graduate students. Fellows include men and women from different countries, different cultures, and different generations.

To accommodate the different stages and needs of career development, the Institute provides stipends and supplementary support within four fellowship categories:

- **Distinguished Fellows**—eminent scholars and practitioners whose careers are marked by extraordinary achievement;
- **Peace Fellows**—persons in varied careers who show substantial accomplishment and promise for future leadership;
- **Visiting Fellows**—prominent statesmen and other outstanding individuals who come to the Institute generally for periods of two to six months to carry out particularly timely projects; and
- **Peace Scholars**—outstanding doctoral students from American universities who are undertaking dissertation research that advances the state of knowledge about international peace and conflict management. Recipients must complete all graduate work—exclusive of their doctoral dissertation—before beginning the fellowship.

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Sought-After Expertise

Institute fellows have

- **Testified before committees of Congress.**
- **Briefed senior executive branch officials.**
- **Participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe meeting in Copenhagen.**
- **Attended the summit meeting of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation.**
- **Conducted a roundtable on "Identity Group Conflicts with Sovereign States: Incidence, Dynamics, and Resolution" at an annual meeting of the International Studies Association.**
- **Participated in a UN-sponsored meeting on "Schemes of Self-Government for Indigenous Populations."**

With the exception of Peace Scholars, all fellows work in residence at the Institute. Peace Scholars remain based at their universities. Fellowships have normally been for a one-year period. Recipients for each type of award are selected through an annual, widely publicized international competition.

GIVE-AND-TAKE BENEFITS FELLOWS AND COMMUNITY ALIKE

Financial support is only one aspect of the Institute's Fellowship program. To expedite the completion of individual projects, resident fellows have access to in-house services, such as library resources and research, editorial, and clerical assistance. To maximize interdisciplinary collaboration and cross-fertilization among fellows, while enhancing personal and professional experiences, the program includes in-house collegial events as well as events targeted for specialists and institutions concerned with international relations. To make use of the wealth of pertinent knowledge offered by the fellows, the programs also involve them in the Institute's public education effort. Consequently, fellows not only interact with each other, their respective professional groups, policy analysts, and policymakers, but they also speak before citizen groups, local leaders, and students throughout the nation. Through these and other outreach efforts, such as the Institute's *In Brief* series and media interviews, the Institute is able to take the findings and other results of fellows' work, even at preliminary stages of completion, and put them into formats that are of interest and value to decision makers and the public.

Professional Seminars

As part of their projects, Institute fellows have gathered experts for seminars on

- **"The Role of Unofficial Diplomacy in Conflict Resolution."**
- **"New Approaches to Arms Proliferation in the Third World."**
- **"The Future of UN Peacekeeping."**
- **"New Architecture: Alternative Security Models for Europe."**
- **"Superpower Conflict Resolution in Asia and the Pacific;" and**
- **"Beyond the Wall: The Future of Superpower Conflict Resolution in the Third World."**

Public Outreach

Institute fellows have contributed explanations of events and policy analysis to the following:

- **Op-ed pieces in *The Washington Post, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Christian Science Monitor,* and numerous other daily newspapers.**
- **Interviews on national television, including CBS News, "Good Morning America," "MacNeil Lehrer News Hour," CNN, and C-SPAN.**
- **Interviews on National Public Radio, Monitor Radio, and numerous local stations.**
- **Presentations to hundreds of high school and college students visiting the Institute.**
- **Speeches to students, teachers, and civic groups in more than twenty states.**

GROWING RESULTS

In the selection of fellows, the Institute has sought to fund projects that address fundamental policy-relevant questions. A few examples of fellowship foci include:

- The opportunities and limits for superpower cooperation in resolving regional conflicts such as the Persian Gulf crisis;
- The implications of increased ethnic and religion-based conflict throughout the world in recent years, such as that in Kashmir and the Sudan;
- Feasible roles that the United Nations and other international bodies might play in establishing an enforceable international legal order and promulgating human rights norms;
- The practical lessons that can be applied to particular conflicts from emerging research and theory in the field of conflict resolution; and
- The future roles that might be played by NATO, the European Community (EC), and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in ensuring peace and security in post–Cold War Europe.

More important, the work of the fellows is reaching every possible audience. Fellows have published eight books and written for numerous professional journals, magazines, and newspapers.

Following are brief descriptions of Institute fellowships undertaken at least partially during fiscal years 1990 and 1991. Several of the awards were approved in fiscal year 1991 for commencement in fiscal year 1992.

Jennings Randolph Fellowship Program —Number of Fellowship Awards

	FY89	FY90	FY91
Distinguished	3	2	3
Peace Fellows	7	6	7
Visiting Fellows	—	2	2
Peace Scholars	12	9	10

DISTINGUISHED FELLOWS

Chester Crocker
(1989–90)

Fellowship Project: *A book about the roles played, and the mediation techniques and processes used, by the United States and other third parties to settle disputes in Southwest Africa and bring about Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola.*

Chester Crocker was United States assistant secretary of state for African affairs from 1981 to 1989. In this capacity, he managed U.S. relations with all sub-Saharan African countries, serving as the principal mediator during the negotiations among Angola, Cuba, and South Africa that settled several disputes in Southwest Africa. Previously he was associate professor of international relations at the School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. He has also served as a staff officer of the National Security Council and as a consultant to many government agencies and private corporations. Dr. Crocker has written a number of monographs and articles and is the coeditor of the book *South Africa into the 1980s*. He earned a Ph.D. in international politics and African studies from the School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University. His Institute fellowship project was undertaken at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, where he is Distinguished Research Professor of Diplomacy.

Alexander George
(1990–92)

Fellowship Project: *Two studies: one on coercive diplomacy as a strategy for international conflict management and the other on the problems in bridging the gap between theory and practice in peace and security decisionmaking. In early 1992, the Institute will publish his monograph,* Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War.

Alexander George is an expert in U.S.–Soviet relations, crisis management, and diplomacy. His career in international relations has spanned more than five decades. Since 1968, Professor George has served on the faculty at Stanford University, where he is currently the Graham H. Stuart Professor of International Relations. He has also participated in a number of high-level working groups and committees, including the Dartmouth Conference Task Force on Regional Conflicts, the National Academy of Sciences' Committee on International Security and Arms Control, and the joint U.S.–Soviet Committee on Contributions of Behavioral and Social Sciences in Avoiding War. Before joining the Stanford faculty, Professor George worked at RAND for twenty years, where for a time he was head of the Social Science Department. Professor George is the author or coauthor of a number of books, including *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management*. His first book, *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House*, is widely regarded as a seminal study of the role of personality in politics. He earned his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago.

Herbert Kelman
(1989–90)

***Fellowship Project**: The integration and expansion of work on the social-psychological aspects of the analysis and resolution of international conflict and a book, tentatively titled* Mutual Reassurance: Overcoming the Psychological Barriers to Resolution of International Conflicts.

Herbert Kelman is a social scientist recognized for his work in developing conflict resolution methods and applying them to specific conflicts—such as the Arab–Israeli dispute. His academic career has included faculty appointments at the Center for Research on Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan and at Harvard University—where he is Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics in the Department of Psychology and is affiliated with Harvard's Center for International Affairs. Dr. Kelman also has held research fellow and visiting scholar status at Stanford University, The Johns Hopkins University, the American University in Cairo, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In addition to extensive publication in journals, Dr. Kelman currently sits on the editorial boards of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution, Human Relations, International Studies Quarterly, Peace and Change: a Journal of Peace Research,* and *Negotiation Quarterly.* He received his Ph.D. in psychology from Yale University in 1951.

Jamsheed Marker
(1989–90)

***Fellowship Project**: An analysis of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan; the end of the Iran–Iraq war—with particular emphasis on the role of the United States; and the challenges and opportunities these events pose for future U.S. policy in that region of the world.*

Jamsheed Marker became the permanent representative of Pakistan to the United Nations after completing his Institute fellowship. Ambassador Marker's diplomatic career has spanned twenty-four years and included posts in France, West Germany, Japan, Canada, East Germany, and the Soviet Union. As Pakistan's ambassador to the United States, he was involved in the negotiations that led to the 1988 Geneva Accords and the subsequent withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. He was also a senior member of Pakistan's delegation to the UN General Assembly and its permanent representative to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva. Before entering diplomatic service, Ambassador Marker was a successful businessman, directing several shipping, insurance, and banking corporations. He graduated with honors in economics from the University of Punjab and served in the Royal Indian Navy in World War II.

Herman Nickel
(1989–90)

***Fellowship Project**: A book on the potential role of economic interdependence as a means of building peace among and within countries in Southern Africa.*

Herman Nickel was U.S. ambassador to the Republic of South Africa from 1982 to 1986. Previously he worked for nineteen years with Time-Life News Service as correspondent in London and Johannesburg; as the bureau chief in Bonn, London, and Tokyo; and as a senior diplomatic correspondent in Washington, D.C. He was also Washington editor for *Fortune* magazine, and a member of the magazine's editorial board. Most recently, Ambassador Nickel served as diplomat-in-residence and director of the Southern African Studies Project at The Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute. Ambassador Nickel is coauthor of *Europe, America and South Africa* and has

Herman Nickel *Continued*

been widely published in journals and other periodical publications. In 1947 he became the first German student to come to the United States after World War II, on a scholarship to Union College. He earned his J.D. from Syracuse University.

Mancur Olson
(1990–91)

***Fellowship Project**: A monograph and articles that apply economic concepts and reasoning to problems of cooperation and conflict avoidance among nations.*

Mancur Olson is currently Distinguished Professor of Economics at the University of Maryland, where he has served as a faculty member for twenty-one years. His career in the field of economic and social policies has spanned three decades and included positions at academic and government institutions. His government service positions have included vice chairman of the Maryland Health Services Cost Review Commission and deputy assistant secretary for social indicators of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, where he played a leading role in developing theories and methods for reporting on social indicators. His research has dealt with the effect of individual incentives on the behavior of labor unions, social movements, interest groups, and other large groups. A prolific writer, Dr. Olson is the author of two major books that have contributed to public debate about social and governmental behavior, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* and *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities*, which has been translated into eleven languages. He has also held fellowships at the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy and Research, the Lehrman Institute, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and is a Rhodes scholar. Dr. Olson earned his Ph.D. in economics from Harvard University.

Eugene V. Rostow
(1990–92)

***Fellowship Project**: A book, Aggression and Self-Defense, that examines the current international legal controls that are intended to govern the use of force by nations.*

Eugene V. Rostow has devoted more than fifty years to the fields of law and public service. From 1984 to 1990 he was distinguished research professor at the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University. Previously, he served as the U. S. under secretary of state for political affairs and director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Professor Rostow has also been an informal advisor to officials in several presidential administrations and served under the Secretariat of the United Nations. Before becoming a faculty member of the National Defense University, he served for forty years on the faculty of Yale Law School—with ten years as the school's dean. He has held visiting fellowships or professorships at many institutions, including the University of Chicago and Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and has received a number of honorary degrees. Professor Rostow is the author of a number of books, including *Law, Power, and the Pursuit of Peace; Peace in the Balance;* and *The Ideal in Law.*

Shimon Shamir
(1991–92)

Fellowship Project: *An examination of linkages between unofficial and governmental reconciliation processes in the Israeli–Egyptian relationships as a precedent for peace-building between Israel and other Arab states.*

Shimon Shamir is a prominent scholar on Middle East history and the Arab world. He is known for his pioneering efforts in promoting discussions between Israeli and Egyptian intellectuals and political leaders following the Camp David Accords and related efforts through people-to-people peacemaking. Before coming to the Institute, he served as Israel's ambassador to Egypt and director of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo. Since 1966, he has been a professor of Modern History of the Middle East at Tel Aviv University. Ambassador Shamir has also authored or edited several books and many articles on Egypt and Arab–Israeli relations and has played a central role in formulating relationships among Israeli and Egyptian scholars and educational institutions. He holds a Ph.D. in oriental studies from Princeton University.

Louis B. Sohn
(1991–92)

Fellowship Project: *A book on the range of legal instruments for international dispute resolution.*

Louis B. Sohn is one of the foremost scholars and practitioners of international law—a field in which he has worked for more than fifty years. Much of his professional life has focused on international law as a means for promoting peaceful settlements of conflicts among nations. Since 1981, Professor Sohn has been Woodruff Professor of International Law at the University of Georgia School of Law. For the preceding twenty years he was the Bemis Professor of International Law at Harvard Law School. He has served both as U.S. counsel before the International Court of Justice and as chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Athens meeting on settlement of disputes between states parties to the Helsinki Final Act on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He has also served on the U.S. delegation to the Third Law of the Sea Conference, the UNESCO Congress on Disarmament Education, and the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, and has been an advisor for the U.S. departments of State and Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the UN Secretariat. He is a past president and current honorary vice president of the American Society of International Law and has authored numerous books and journal articles. Professor Sohn earned his LL.M and S.J.D. from Harvard Law School.

PEACE FELLOWS

Arun Elhance
(1991–92)

Fellowship Project: *A comparative study of how disputes over several large international river systems could lead to cooperation or conflict in five regions of the Third World—Southeast Asia, North Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, and South America.*

Arun Elhance has focused his career primarily on the relationship of environmental concerns, economic development, and human resources, and has also written on international security issues. He came to the Institute from the University of Illinois, Urbana, where he is an assistant professor of geography. In his native India, Dr. Elhance was active in efforts to limit commercial deforestation of the Himalayas, worked for the Karnataka State Planning Bureau in Bangalore on policies and programs for metropolitan and rural development, and wrote a major case study of a local large-scale irrigation project. He has contributed chapters to several books on nuclear warfare and disarmament and written articles for a number of professional journals. Dr. Elhance received his Ph.D. in economic geography and regional science from Boston University.

Muhammad Faour
(1991–92)

Fellowship Project: *An examination of long-term social and political changes in Arab countries in the aftermath of the Persian Gulf war.*

Muhammad Faour has focused his career on demographic and health issues pertaining to his native Lebanon and the Middle East, and on approaches to conflict resolution and the application of those approaches to conflict among Arabs and between Arabs and Israelis. During his fellowship he is on leave from the faculty of the American University of Beirut, where he has served since 1983, most recently as an associate professor of sociology and also as chairman of the university's department of social and behavioral sciences. Dr. Faour earned his Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Michigan.

Charles Glaser
(1989–90)

Fellowship Project: *A study of the possible effects of arms races on the probability of war, with a focus on a number of cases, including post–World War II U.S.–Soviet relations.*

Charles Glaser began a Council on Foreign Relations fellowship for the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon after finishing his Institute fellowship in the fall of 1990. He was previously an assistant professor of political science at the University of Michigan and a research associate at the University's Institute of Public Policy Studies, and a research associate at the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University. He has published numerous writings on strategic nuclear weapons policy and arms control and is the author of a book, *Analyzing Strategic Nuclear Policy*. Dr. Glaser received his Ph.D. from the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, and an M.A. in physics from Harvard.

Hurst Hannum
(1989–90)

Fellowship Project: *A book that examines the concept of self-determination in the postcolonial era as it relates to recent ethnic and religious conflicts.*

Hurst Hannum is associate professor of international law at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University. Previously, Mr. Hannum was executive director of the Procedural Aspects of International Law Institute. A specialist in human rights and international organizations, he has worked with many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), including Amnesty International, Survival International, and the International Human Rights Law Group. He has testified before the U.S. Congress and the Helsinki Commission and has represented NGOs before the UN Commission on Human Rights and its Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, as well as the European and Inter-American human rights commissions. He edited *The Guide to International Human Rights Practice*, which received an award from the American Society of International Law; has written many journal articles; and is the author of the book, *Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination: The Accommodation of Conflicting Rights*. Mr. Hannum received his J.D. from the University of California, Berkeley.

Mark Hoffman
(1990–91)

Fellowship Project: *An examination of mediation efforts in several recent conflicts in the Third World to pinpoint the processes and various effects of successful mediations.*

Mark Hoffman is a lecturer in international relations at the London School of Economics and director of research for the Centre for the Analysis of Conflict at the University of Kent, Canterbury. His work has focused on conflict resolution in the Third World, particularly third-party mediation techniques. In 1988, Mr. Hoffman was a European fellow at the U.S.–European Summer School on Global Security and Arms Control at the University of Sussex, along with scholars from the United States, Eastern and Western Europe, and the Soviet Union. He has also taught at the University of Keele and the University of Southampton, where he participated in a Ford Foundation research project examining North–South and South–South security issues. Mr. Hoffman has contributed chapters to many books and edited a number of works on conflict, mediation, and international relations. He holds an M.Sc. in international relations from the London School of Economics.

Thomas Imobighe
(1991–92)

Fellowship Project: *A comparative study of the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of American States to show how regional organizations can be more effective in managing conflicts in their respective regions.*

Thomas Imobighe is an expert on African security issues. He came to the Institute from Nigeria, where he is a commissioner of the National Boundary Commission of the Nigerian Presidency and a professor at Bendel State University in Ekpoma. At the commission, Dr. Imobighe concentrates on projects aimed at peaceful management and the resolution of conflicts among Nigerian communities. At Bendel University, he is working to establish a Centre for Security and Development Studies that provides training programs in mediation skills and other conflict management techniques to people from Nigeria and other countries. Previously he was a

Thomas Imobighe

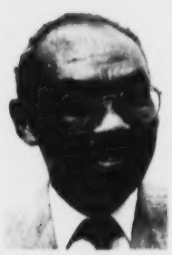
Continued

Senior Fellow and headed the Defence and Security Unit at the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies in Kuru for ten years. Dr. Imobighe is the author or editor of several books on Africa. He holds a Ph.D. in strategic studies from the University College of Wales in the United Kingdom.

Mark Katz
(1989–90)

***Fellowship Project**: A book published by the Institute in 1991, Soviet–American Conflict Resolution in the Third World, drawing on a series of seminars focused on Afghanistan, Southern Africa, the Horn of Africa, the Middle East, Central America, Asia, and the Pacific.*

Mark Katz is assistant professor of government and political science at George Mason University and an international affairs consultant on Soviet foreign policy toward the Third World. He has been a research associate at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, a guest scholar at The Brookings Institution, and a Soviet affairs analyst for the Department of State, and has received fellowships from The Brookings Institution, the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson Center, and the Rockefeller Foundation. Dr. Katz is the author of *Gorbachev's Military Policy in the Third World*; *Russia and Arabia: Soviet Foreign Policy Toward the Arabian Peninsula*; and *The Third World in Soviet Military Thought*. He has been published in many journals and has undertaken several speaking tours in Europe, South Asia, and the Middle East for the United States Information Agency. He received his Ph.D. in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



Mohamed Khalil
(1991–92)

***Fellowship Project**: An examination of the compatibility of traditional Islamic law and legal concepts of democracy and human rights.*

Mohamed Khalil is an expert in international and Islamic law. He is a native of the Sudan, where he has held a number of important government positions. Most recently, Mr. Khalil served as a consultant to the World Bank. He has also been speaker of the Sudanese Constituent Assembly, minister of foreign affairs, minister of justice, and minister of local government. From 1978 to 1986, Mr. Khalil was legal counsel for the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development; he held a similar position at the Abu Dhabi Fund for Arab Economic Development. In addition, he has been the dean of the Faculty of Law and Sharia at Khartoum University and has headed academic departments and the Institute of Islamic Legal Studies at Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria. His numerous written works include articles for journals published in the Sudan, Nigeria, and the United Kingdom. Mr. Khalil earned LL.B. and LL.M degrees from Khartoum University and the London School of Economic Development, respectively.

Ruth Lapidoth
(1990–91)

Fellowship Project: *A book that examines the potential of limited autonomy arrangements—as an alternative to full independence—as solutions to national and international conflicts.*

Ruth Lapidoth is professor of international law at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and an expert on international autonomy and sovereignty agreements. She has served the Israeli government in a number of negotiations and reconciliation efforts between Arabs and Israelis. As legal advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, she participated actively in the Camp David peace process, including negotiations on Palestinian autonomy and establishment of the Multinational Force and Observers in the Sinai. She was also a member of the arbitration panel established to solve the boundary dispute between Israel and Egypt over Taba and was later appointed a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration. A seventeen-year member of the Hebrew University faculty, Dr. Lapidoth has written five books and forty articles. She has also taught at Duke University, Northwestern University, Tulane University, and the University of Southern California. Dr. Lapidoth holds a Ph.D. in international law from the University of Paris.

Yuri Maltsev
(1990–91)

Fellowship Project: *An assessment of policy options for economic reform in the Soviet Union.*

Yuri Maltsev, a Soviet-trained economist with broad experience in Soviet government and academic institutions, began teaching at Carthage College, Wisconsin, in the fall of 1991. Dr. Maltsev has written, lectured, and consulted with numerous financial and commercial institutions on the likely outcomes of economic reform in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Before coming to the United States in 1989, he was senior researcher at the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, where he worked with a team of leading Soviet economists on Gorbachev's reforms package. He was formerly a member of the Commission of Economic Reform of the Council of Ministers and senior researcher and chief consultant for management at the USSR Bank for Foreign Trade. His government service includes terms as people's deputy, Solnechnogorsk City Council, Moscow region, and as advisor to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the Economics Department of the CPSU Central Committee. He has taught at the Moscow Institute for Electronic Engineering, advising local governments on industrial management and contracting, and at the Higher Commercial School of the USSR Academy of Foreign Trade and the University of Marxism-Leninism as a professor of management. His publications include nineteen articles and contributions to three monographs and five books. Dr. Maltsev received his Ph.D. in economics from the Institute for Labor Research in Moscow.

Cynthia McClintock
(1990–91)

Fellowship Project: *A study of how Peru, El Salvador, and other Latin American nations can preserve and promote democracy while coping with violent revolutionary movements.*

Cynthia McClintock is a professor of political science at George Washington University and an expert on guerrilla challenges to democratic regimes in Latin America—particularly Peru. Dr. McClintock consults frequently with the Commission on U.S.–Latin American Relations and the Inter-American Dialogue and has briefed several senior State Department officials about Peruvian politics. She has written and edited numerous books and articles on political issues in Latin America. Dr. McClintock also serves on the Executive Council of the Latin American Studies Association. She earned a Ph.D. in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Vernon Mendis
(1990–91)

Fellowship Project: *An investigation of how the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation can help resolve conflicts among member states.*

Vernon Mendis was among the first diplomats appointed to the newly formed Sri Lankan Foreign Service in 1949. During his thirty-one-year career he has held a number of important assignments, including Sri Lankan ambassador to France, high commissioner to Canada and the United Kingdom, deputy high commissioner to India, and director general of external affairs in Colombo. He has also had extensive experience in multilateral organizations as secretary-general of the 1976 Non-Aligned Summit in Colombo, as a member of Sri Lanka's delegation to the UN, and with UNESCO as regional director to the Arab states and representative to Egypt and the Sudan (with headquarters in Cairo). In the latter capacity he was involved in efforts at preserving cultural heritage. In 1986, the president of Sri Lanka appointed him chairman of the Telecommunications Board of Sri Lanka to implement privatization of telecommunications. He has lectured on diplomacy at several universities and at diplomatic and military training institutes in six countries. He was awarded an honorary doctorate in recognition of his contributions to the study of Sri Lankan history, a subject on which he has written three books. Ambassador Mendis is also the author of many articles.

Robert Rothstein
(1992)

Fellowship Project: *A comparison of new democracies that have had successful and unsuccessful experiences in establishing durable democratic institutions.*

Robert Rothstein specializes in issues affecting the emergence and performance of democratic governments in the developing world. He has been the Harvey Picker Distinguished Professor of International Relations at Colgate University since 1985, and has also taught at Johns Hopkins and Columbia Universities. Dr. Rothstein has also worked for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Department of State—for which he conducted extensive research on North–South relations and U.S. policies regarding transitions from authoritarianism to more liberal forms of government. Dr. Rothstein's writings have covered such subjects as

Robert Rothstein *Continued*

the Third World and U.S. foreign policy, international economic order, and developing countries in the international system. He holds a Ph.D. in international relations from Columbia University.

Barnett R. Rubin
(1989–90)

***Fellowship Project**: A book on the origins of the conflict in Afghanistan, options for settling the conflict, and management of the national reconstruction process.*

Barnett R. Rubin is associate professor of political science at Columbia University. Previously he was an assistant professor of political science at Yale University and a consultant to Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. He wrote *Feudal Revolt and State Building* and he is coauthor of *A Nation Is Dying: Afghanistan Under the Soviets*. Dr. Rubin has also contributed chapters to edited works and has been published extensively in newspapers and journals. He received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago.

Eugene Shirley
(1989–1991)

***Fellowship Project**: Planning and preliminary execution of a five-part television series for the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) titled* World Revolution: The Rise and Fall of Communism. *This comparative series on Communist states and parties will be filmed in Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, the Soviet Union, China, Vietnam, and Cuba.*

Eugene Shirley is the founder and president of Pacem Productions, Inc., located in Los Angeles, the first independent American television production company granted approval to film in the Soviet Union. He is best known for producing the award-winning film for PBS, *Candle in the Wind*, which focused on religion in the Soviet Union. His documentary projects deal primarily with issues in the philosophies of science, technology, and religion, as well as human rights and communism. Mr. Shirley has lectured in the United States and overseas and his work has been the subject of more than 175 articles.

Mihaly Simai
(1991–92)

***Fellowship Project**: An examination of the challenges and opportunities posed by recent changes in international economics, finance, ecology, and technology for the United Nations and other multilateral organizations promoting international peace and cooperation.*

Mihaly Simai is an international economist specializing in modernization and technological development. His work has focused on the increasingly multipolar and interrelated nature of international economics. Dr. Simai is on leave from his position at the Institute for World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, where he has worked for the past sixteen years. In addition to this position, he is director of graduate studies in international relations at the Budapest University of Economics, where he has taught for the past thirty-three years. Dr. Simai has also served as vice chairman of the UNICEF Executive Board of the United Nations, and vice chairman of the UN Committee of Development Planning. He is currently chairman of the Council of the United Nations University and honorary president of the World Federation of United Nations Associations. His many books include *A New World Economy: Global Challenges for Hungary; Global Power Structure, Technology, and the World Economy;* and *Foreign Direct Investments and Debts*. Dr. Simai earned a Ph.D. in international economics from the University of Economics in Budapest.

Milan Svec
(1989–91)

Fellowship Project: *An examination of how the changing character of the elite ideologies of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe influenced the domestic reform and foreign policies of these countries—with special attention to how these ideas and policies affect U.S. interests and the options available to Washington for enhancing peaceful relations.*

Milan Svec accepted a position, in the fall of 1991, as a visiting professor at the U.S. Army Russian Institute in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. He was a senior consultant to the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University and a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace prior to his Institute fellowship. He received political asylum in the United States after serving as minister counselor and deputy chief of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington from 1982 to 1985. In Czechoslovakia, he served as a senior advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and a senior official at the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Mr. Svec's articles and opinion pieces have been widely published in newspapers and professional journals. He was the first foreigner to receive a Ph.D. from the Institute for the U.S.A. and Canada in Moscow.

Francisco Villagran de Leon
(1992)

Fellowship Project: *A study of how the Organization of American States can be strengthened to promote peace and security in Latin America and the Caribbean.*

Francisco Villagran de Leon will take leave from the Guatemalan Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the period of his Institute fellowship. He has served as permanent representative (ambassador) to the United Nations and permanent representative to the Organization of American States—during which time he participated in numerous general assemblies and summit meetings. Ambassador Villagran de Leon has also held several other key positions, including vice minister of foreign affairs and deputy chief of mission at the Guatemalan Embassy in Washington, D.C., and has participated in bilateral negotiations between Belize and Guatemala and multilateral meetings relating to the Central American peace process. He holds an M.A. in international affairs from Georgetown University.

Ibrahim Wani
(1989–90)

Fellowship Project. *An examination of the current capabilities of compulsory international adjudication—exemplified by the International Court of Justice—in resolving international disputes and, in particular, of the attitudes of states that affect their decisions on whether to bring disputes before the Court.*

Ibrahim Wani is assistant professor of international law at the School of Law of the University of Missouri, Kansas City. Previously he was a research fellow at the Center for Oceans Law and Policy at the University of Virginia, a legal officer for the Uganda Mission to the United Nations, and an assistant state attorney for the Ugandan Ministry of Justice. In addition, Mr. Wani was a Ugandan representative to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and the Second International Conference on the Law of the Sea. His writings have appeared in several law journals and the journal *Horn of Africa*. He received an LL.B. from Makerere University in Uganda, an M.C.J. from Howard University School of Law, and an LL.M. from the University of Virginia, where he is currently an S.J.D. candidate.

Walter Wink
(1989–90)

Fellowship Project: *A book on the biblical roots of a nonviolent philosophy and its relevance to current conflicts.*

Walter Wink has taught in the field of theological education for more than thirty years. He conducted his fellowship project from Auburn Theological Seminary in New York, where he has, since 1976, been professor of biblical interpretation. Previously he taught theology at Union Theological Seminary in New York. Dr. Wink is a renowned domestic and international lecturer and the author of six books, including *Violence and Nonviolence in South Africa.* He has also written more than forty-five journal articles. Dr. Wink received an M. Div. and a Ph.D. from Union Theological Seminary.

Zhao Quansheng
(1991)

Fellowship Project: *An examination of Chinese domestic politics and foreign policy during the past decade and possible directions for the future.*

Zhao Quansheng is an expert in Chinese affairs and East Asian politics and international relations and an assistant professor of political science at Old Dominion University. Previously he was a research fellow at the East–West Center in Honolulu, Hawaii. He has also taught and conducted research at Cleveland State University, Oxford University, and the University of Tokyo, and has contributed articles to many American, British, Chinese, and Japanese publications. Dr. Zhao was formerly a sergeant in the army of the People's Republic of China. He holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of California at Berkeley.

VISITING FELLOWS

Georgiy Mirsky
(1991–92)

Fellowship Project: *Study of the prospects that the end of the Cold War and the profound changes inside the former Soviet Union represent for establishing a new world order.*

Georgiy Mirsky has been a professor at the Institute of International Relations of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs for most of his professional career. During the past thirty years, he has also served as head of the Department of Developing Countries and chief researcher at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) in Moscow; lectured at the Warsaw Pact headquarters in Moscow and the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; was a visiting professor at the University of Maryland; presented numerous papers on such topics as the ideological foundations and mechanics of Soviet foreign policy, Soviet history, and the Cold War; and wrote several books. A prolific author, Professor Mirsky has written many books and articles on topics such as the social and political problems in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, Soviet policy in the Third World, and new political thinking in the Soviet Union. He graduated from the Institute of Oriental Studies and holds a Ph.D. in science (history) from Moscow State Institute of International Relations.

Don Peretz
(1992)

Fellowship Project: *An examination of how the establishment of a Palestinian state or other political entities in the West Bank and Gaza would affect the status of Palestinian refugees throughout the Middle East.*

Don Peretz has more than six decades of experience in the study of Middle East affairs—specifically on issues affecting Palestinian refugees. Since 1966, he has served on the faculty of the State University of New York, Binghamton, where he is a professor of political science. Dr. Peretz's firsthand experience in Middle East affairs began in 1947, when, as a correspondent for the National Broadcasting Company, he reported on the conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. Later he worked as a representative of the American Service Committee in Jerusalem with the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) and as a Middle East media evaluator for the Voice of America in New York. Dr. Peretz has also held positions with Vassar College, the American Jewish Committee, and the New York State Education Department—where he was associate director of the Center for International Programs and Services at the state department of education. A prolific writer, Dr. Peretz has authored and coauthored books and professional journal articles on a number of topics pertaining to the Middle East and foreign policy. He holds a Ph.D. in Middle East studies from Columbia University.

Indar Rikhye
(1991)

Fellowship Project: *A study of the elements that led to the successes and failures of United Nations peacekeeping missions. (Visiting Distinguished Fellow)*

Indar Rikhye, a retired major general in the Indian army, has spent the past thirty-four years working in the areas of multilateral peacekeeping as a diplomat, a soldier, and an educator. After the 1956 Suez War, he served in Gaza as a unit commander and later as chief of staff for the first United Nations peacekeeping mission. As military advisor to Secretaries General Dag Hammarskjöld and U Thant, he led peacekeeping operations in the Congo, West Irian, the Dominican Republic, Yemen, and Gaza. He also conducted special missions for the secretary general in Rwanda, Burundi, Cuba, Jordan, and Israel. After leaving the UN in 1969, General Rikhye founded the International Peace Academy, a New York-based, nonprofit, nongovernmental, educational institute that conducts research and training programs in the areas of peacekeeping, mediation, arbitration, and other conflict resolution techniques. He is now a senior fellow of the academy, where he has developed courses and practical models for third-party roles in peacemaking. General Rikhye is the author or coauthor of many articles and books and has lectured at universities, research institutes, and defense and diplomatic training centers in more than fifteen countries on five continents. In 1985, he was awarded UNESCO's Prize for Peace Education.

Vadim Udalov
(1991)

Fellowship Project: *Study of the concept of balance of interests in conflict management, including the theoretical and pragmatic reasons for exploring the concept, the relationships between the concept and current notions of conflict management, and the specific means for applying the balance of interests concept to actual conflicts.*

Vadim Udalov is an expert on Soviet international relations and conflict resolution. He is currently first secretary of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, before which he was first secretary of the Research Coordination Center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Previously, Mr. Udalov served as second secretary for the Research Coordination Center for two years; worked for the Department of the Middle East; and was a diplomat with the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, assigned to the Soviet Embassy in Ankara, Turkey. His article, "Balance of Power and Balance of Interests," appeared in a 1990 edition of *International Affairs*—a journal published by the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Udalov is a graduate of the Institute of Asian and African Countries at Moscow State University.

PEACE SCHOLARS

Mohammed Abu Nimer (1991–92)	*Conflict Resolution and Analysis Program at George Mason University*	**Dissertation:** *Conflict Resolution and Political Change: A Case Study of Intervention Models in Arab–Jewish Relations in Israel*—An examination of the role that problem-solving interventions have played in promoting dialogue between Jews and Arabs in Israel.
Alice Ackermann (1991–92)	*Department of Government and Politics of the University of Maryland at College Park*	**Dissertation**: *Passage to a "Normal State": The Foreign Policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1983–1990*—An examination of the foreign policy issues in a newly unified Germany.
Cecilia Albin (1989–90)	*School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of The Johns Hopkins University*	**Dissertation:** *Resolving Conflicts over Indivisible Issues: The Question of Jerusalem*—An application of social-psychological and integrative approaches to dispute resolution—with a focus on the status of Jerusalem—to illuminate how violent conflicts over indivisible issues can be resolved.
Eileen Babbitt (1989–90)	*Department of Urban Studies and Planning at Massachusetts Institute of Technology*	**Dissertation**: *Understanding and Using Leverage: The Key to Superpower Mediations of International Conflict*—A study of the link between negotiation/mediation theory and the study of diplomacy for insights on the effective use of leverage by superpowers mediating conflicts.
Geoffrey Bate (1990–91)	*Department of Anthropology, City University of New York, Graduate Center, New York City*	**Dissertation:** *Defend Your People: Radical Nationalist Politics in a Basque Town*—An examination of the anthropological sources of Basque terrorism.

Jean Boone (1991–92)	*Department of Government at Georgetown University*	**Dissertation:** *The USSR in the World Economy: The Politics of Soviet Economic Reform 1985–1991*—A study of the politics of Soviet foreign economic reform, focusing on domestic factors that are likely to influence the prospects for peace or conflict in the former Soviet Union.
William DeMars (1991–92)	*Department of Government and International Studies of Notre Dame University*	**Dissertation:** *Vying for Hearts and Minds: International Organizations and the Ethiopian Conflict in the 1980s*—A study of the role of humanitarian aid in the Ethiopian civil war in the 1980s, examining how violent conflict affects relief efforts of the international community.
Nora Femenia (1991–92)	*Program in Analysis and Resolution of Conflicts of Syracuse University*	**Dissertation:** *National Self-Images, Enemy-Images, and Conflict Strategies*—A study of the Falklands/Malvinas conflict to illuminate how countries mobilize enemy-images and self-images during times of military confrontation.
Thomas Firestone (1989–90)	*Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley*	**Dissertation:** *The Soviet Union and Peace: A Case Study in the Exercise of Power over Opinion*—An examination of the methods and intent of Soviet efforts to influence Western European public opinion against NATO deployments.
Nathalie Frensley (1989–90)	*Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin*	**Dissertation**: *Elite Demobilization of Mass Constituencies: The Role of Persuasion in Northern Irish Conflict Settlements*—An examination of the hypothesis that conflict resolution only occurs when elites successfully persuade their constituents to accept the terms of a settlement, focusing on two attempts at settling the Northern Ireland conflict.
Kurt Taylor Gaubatz (1989–90)	*Department of Political Science at Stanford University*	**Dissertation:** *The Democracies and Conflict in the International System*—An investigation of whether democratic states are more inclined to peaceful international behavior than nondemocratic ones.
Marc Genest (1990–91)	*Department of Government at Georgetown University*	**Dissertation**: *National Security Policy and Arms Control: Negotiating in the Public Eye*—An examination of media influence on arms control negotiations.
Daniel Gibson (1989–90)	*Department of Political Science at Duke University*	**Dissertation**: *Aiding or Abetting?: International Development Assistance, Predatory Government, and Ethnic Conflict*—An analysis of the extent to which international development assistance is linked to domestic political factors and whether more restrictive aid criteria might reduce ethnic conflict in the Third World.

Ran Greenstein (1989–90)	*Department of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin—Madison*	**Dissertation:** *Settler Societies and Political Conflict: South Africa and Israel*—A comparison of Israel and South Africa as "settler societies" in order to obtain new insights about basic origins and dynamics of their social and political conflicts.
Jussi Hanhimaki (1991–92)	*Department of History of Boston University*	**Dissertation**: *Containment vs. Neutrality: America and the Finnish Solution, 1948–1956*—A study of the role that Finland's neutrality played in the development of East–West relations and American policies toward Europe in the period immediately following World War II.
W. Scott Harrop (1989–90)	*Department of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia*	**Dissertation**: *Protracted Rebellion and the Quest for International Legitimacy*—A survey of case studies to assess the ability of protracted insurrections to gain international approval.
Jairo Hernandez (1991–92)	*The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University*	**Dissertation**: *Leadership, Negotiation, and International Law: The Arias Peace Initiative in the Context of the Central American Conflict*— An investigation of the role of Costa Rica as a mediator in the settlement of Central American disputes in the 1980s, in particular, the peace initiative launched by President Oscar Arias.
Cynthia Irvin (1991–92)	*Department of Political Science at Duke University*	**Dissertation:** *Parties Against the State: Paramilitary Politics in Severely Divided Societies*—An examination of why some antisystem political groups resort to electoral politics in seeking to achieve their goals, while others choose violence and military action.
Moira Killoran (1991–92)	*Department of Anthropology of the University of Texas at Austin*	**Dissertation:** *The Significance of History and Social Memory in the Construction of Ethnicity in North Cyprus*—A study of the Turkish community in North Cyprus to explore how competing interpretations of history and "social memory" can play a formative role in shaping the identity of ethnic groups involved in protracted conflicts.
Sung Hee Kim (1990–91)	*Department of Psychology at Tufts University*	**Dissertation**: *Retaliation and the Escalation of Conflict*— An experimental investigation into the effects of escalation and retaliation in negotiation and mediation.
Megan Koreman (1990–91)	*Department of History of the University of California, Berkeley*	**Dissertation:** *The Liberation of the Local Community: France, 1944–46*—An exploration of the transition from war to peace in three small French communities during the liberation at the end of World War II.

Mark Lagon (1989–90)	*Department of Government at Georgetown University*	**Dissertation:** *Structures and Beliefs: Perspectives on the Declaration of the Reagan Doctrine*—A study of the ideological sources of the Reagan Doctrine on replacing Marxist regimes with democratic ones.
Itshak Lederman (1990–91)	*Department of Government and Politics of the University of Maryland at College Park*	**Dissertation:** *Verification of Conventional Arms Control in Europe*—A study of the objectives and operations of arms verification agreements in general, and of a conventional agreement in Europe in particular.
Jeffrey Legro (1990–91)	*Department of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles*	**Dissertation:** *Restraint and Escalation in War*—An examination of the use of restraint and escalation in war, focusing on three types of weapons: submarines, strategic bombing, and chemicals.
Terrence Markin (1989–90)	*School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University*	**Dissertation:** *The Resolution of the West Irian Dispute*—An examination of the resolution of the West Irian dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands in order to identify and analyze mediation techniques relevant to other conflicts.
Simei Qing (1990–91)	*Department of History of Michigan State University*	**Dissertation:** *Chinese and American Conceptions of Peace, Order, and Economic Development in East Asia, 1944–84*—A study of Chinese and American ideologies on national developments as they affected Sino-American relations.
Laura Reed (1990–91)	*Department of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology*	**Dissertation:** *The Road Not Taken: The Fate of Policy Alternatives in the American Security Debate over Germany, 1945–50*—An exploration of American policy alternatives in Germany in the period immediately following World War II.
Thazhakuzhyil Paul (1989–90)	*Department of Political Science of the University of California at Los Angeles*	**Dissertation:** *The Weak Against the Strong: War Initiation by Lesser Powers in the International System*—An investigation of why militarily weaker and economically less-developed states initiate wars against ostensibly more powerful entities.
Aaron Wolf (1991–92)	*Land Resource Management Program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison*	**Dissertation:** *The Waters of the Jordan River Watershed and Their Impact on Regional Conflict and Cooperation*—An investigation of how the scarcity of water resources in the Jordan River basin is a source of regional conflict and cooperation.
Michael Yaffe (1989–90)	*Department of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania*	**Dissertation:** *Politics of Tactical Nuclear Weapons Modernization, 1968–1979*—An examination of the politics of modernizing short-range tactical nuclear weapons from 1968 to 1979 as an example of weapons innovation and changing nuclear strategy.

Qiang Zhai
(1990–91)

Department of History at Ohio University

Dissertation: *Anglo–American Policy toward the Sino–Soviet Alliance, 1949–59*—An analysis of U.S. and British foreign policies toward China and the Soviet Union from 1949 to 1959.

RESEARCH AND STUDIES PROGRAM

(From left to right) Patrick Glynn, Charles Fairbanks, Kenneth Jensen, Myron Rush, and Milan Svec participate in an Institute workshop on the Current Soviet Crisis.

In the traditional sense, research relies on the examination of historical materials—books, periodicals, records, personal papers or public documents, and statistical reports. For those attempting to respond to a crisis or address current issues, however, traditional research techniques must be augmented by other important information that simply may not yet exist through the normal research channels.

In establishing its Research and Studies Program, the Institute recognized that it could not rely solely on traditional research techniques if it were to contribute useful information on peace and related subjects. It often implements study methodology that mixes experience of practitioners with the scholarship of international academic and other experts in the study and practice of international relations.

As a complement to the Institute's grants and fellowship programs, Research and Studies brings together current experts to examine and debate issues. The program employs a number of different formats for these sessions:

- **Conferences**, which include sessions on a variety of issues related to a single topic;
- **Studies and Working Groups**, which run for a period of a year or more with sessions at which a core group or rotating groups of experts discuss and critique papers received in advance of the session;
- **Study Groups**, which mix a core group of scholars and diplomat practitioners in a series of intense discussions over periods of up to six months; and
- **Public Workshops**, which are three-hour group discussions on a variety of different subjects.

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Each of these types of projects is designed and supervised by the Institute, with the assistance of expert consultants and/or contract researchers. During fiscal years 1990 and 1991, the following Research and Studies events were undertaken:

- **Conferences:**
  - — The Origins of the Cold War
  - — Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War Third World
  - — Ethnic Conflict Resolution Under Rule of Law
- **Studies and Working Groups:**
  - — Strengthening World Order and the United Nations Charter System Against Secret Warfare and Low-Intensity Conflict (four two-day sessions)
  - — Peace and Deterrence after the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Agreement (five two-day sessions)
- **Study Group:**
  - — The Future Prospects for Conflict or Peace in Central and Eastern Europe (six sessions)
- **Public Workshop Series:**
  - — Resolving Regional Conflicts: A Role for U.S.–Soviet Cooperation?
  - — Can There Be an International Solution to the Cambodian Question?
  - — The Romanian Revolution: Present Prospects
  - — The Future Stability of Yugoslavia
  - — Current Soviet Crisis (two sessions)

By the close of fiscal year 1991, more than 1,200 foreign affairs experts, scholars, journalists, and members of the general public, including many from other nations, had participated in the Institute's Research and Studies Program. The work and views of these individuals has been documented and disseminated through the Institute periodical publications, *In Brief* and the *Journal*; the *Dialogues from Public Workshops* series; *Lessons from Fifty Years of Negotiating Experiences*; and books, *Approaches to Peace: An Intellectual Map* and *Origins of the Cold War: The Novikov, Kennan, and Roberts "Long Telegrams" of 1946*.

Conference on the Origins of the Cold War

June 25–28, 1990—Moscow • July 22–25, 1990—Washington, D.C.

During the summer of 1990, the Institute and the Research Coordination Center of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs conducted two three-day working conferences to compare U.S. and Soviet visions of the origins of the Cold War. During the meetings, more than two dozen American and Soviet experts exchanged views on lessons from diplomacy, personalities, and public perceptions of the early Cold War period. The purpose of the project was to compare historical perspectives and generate new U.S. and Soviet scholarship on the decisive events from 1945 to 1950 and to correct misperceptions about the crucial early Cold War years.

The June meetings—held in Meshcherino (outside Moscow)—were followed by meetings with senior Soviet officials to discuss the findings and their implications for Soviet–American relations. In July, the group reconvened at Institute headquarters for similar meetings with senior American officials.

Additional information on this conference can be found in Chapter II.

American Delegation

Robert Conquest*, *Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University*
Francis Fukuyama, *former deputy director, Office of Policy Planning, U.S. Department of State*
John Lewis Gaddis, *Ohio University*
Walter Laqueur*, *Center for Strategic and International Studies*
Melvyn Leffler, *University of Virginia*
Paul H. Nitze**, *School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*
Richard Pipes, *Harvard University*
Elspeth Davies Rostow, *vice chairman, Board of Directors, United States Institute of Peace, and University of Texas at Austin*
Walt Whitman Rostow, *University of Texas at Austin, and former national security advisor to President Lyndon B. Johnson*
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *City University of New York*
Gaddis Smith**, *Yale University*
Helmut Sonnenfeldt**, *The Brookings Institution*
Adam Ulam**, *Russian Research Center, Harvard University*
Allen Weinstein *(Delegation Chairman)*, *member, Board of Directors, United States Institute of Peace, and president, The Center for Democracy*

Soviet Delegation

(All institutes listed are affiliated with USSR Academy of Sciences.)

Aleksandr O. Chubar'ian, *Institute of World History*
Aleksei M. Filitov, *Institute of World History*
Victor L. Mal'kov, *Institute of World History*
Mikhail M. Narinskii, *Institute of World History*
Igor' I. Orlik, *Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System*
Vladimir Pechatnov**, *Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada*
Sergei Plekhanov, *Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada*
Konstantin V. Pleshakov, *Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada*
Yurii A. Poliakov, *Institute of the History of the USSR*
Vladislav Zubok, *Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada*

Ministry of Foreign Affairs Representatives

Aleksei Obukhov*, *deputy minister of foreign affairs*
Vladimir Sokolov**, *department of diplomatic history*
Vladimir V. Shustov *(Delegation Chairman)*, *director, Research Coordination Center*
Vadim Udalov, *first secretary, Research Coordination Center*

United States Institute of Peace Representatives

Kenneth M. Jensen, *director, Research and Studies Program*
Samuel W. Lewis, *president*
Richard Schifter, *member ex officio, Board of Directors and assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs*
W. Scott Thompson, *member, Board of Directors, and Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University*

* Attended the Moscow sessions only.

** Attended the Washington, D.C., meeting only.

Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Post–Cold War Third World

October 3–5, 1990—Washington, D.C.

This three-day conference examined vital topics that affect prospects for peace and stability in the Third World in light of an emerging new world order. The conference was attended by more than 300 people, including 90 expert panelists and commentators—almost all of whom are Institute grantees, fellows, or participants in Institute research projects. Portions of the conference were broadcast on C-SPAN television, and an edited volume of conference papers is forthcoming.

Systemic Changes and the Third World in the Post–Cold War Period

Panelists:
Claude Ake, *The Brookings Institution*
Richard Barnet, *Institute for Policy Studies*
Richard Feinberg, *Overseas Development Council*
Carl Gershman, *National Endowment for Democracy*
Michael Ledeen, *American Enterprise Institution for Public Policy Research*
Robert Rothstein, *Colgate University*
W. Scott Thompson, *member, Board of Directors, United States Institute of Peace and Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University*

Fundamental Sources of Third World Conflict

Sessions and Presenters:
Problems of Economic Development, the Environment, and Constraints on Foreign Aid: Nazli Choucri, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Ethnic and Religious Tension as a Cause of Inter- and Intra-State Conflict in the Third World: Ted Robert Gurr, *University of Maryland*

The Impact of the Proliferation of High Technology on Regional Conflicts: Geoffrey Kemp, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

Weak Democracy and the Prospects for Peace and Prosperity in the Third World: Robert Rothstein, *Colgate University*

The Impact of Increased Defense Spending on the Economic Performance of Third World States and Its Relationship to International Behavior: Robert West, *Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University*

Third World Conflict Prevention and Resolution

Sessions and Presenters:
The Role of Democracy Building: Dennis Austin, *professor emeritus, University of Manchester, England*

The Role of Religion in Peacemaking: George Weigel, *Ethics and Public Policy Center*

The Role of the Superpowers and Major Regional Peacemakers: Chester Crocker, *Distinguished Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*

A New Role for the United Nations in Third World Conflict Resolution: Joseph Lorenz, *former senior foreign service officer*

The Theory and Practice of Third-Party Mediation and Informal Peacemaking: Saadia Touval, *Harvard University* and, **I. William Zartman,** *School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*

Practicing Conflict Resolution in the Middle East: The Gulf Crisis—A Case Study

Panelists:
Alexander George, *Distinguished Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*
Allan Gerson, *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*
Martin Indyk, *Washington Institute for Near East Policy*
Samuel W. Lewis, *president, United States Institute of Peace*
Jerrold Post, *George Washington University*
Gholam Razi, *Air War College*
Jay Rothman, *Hebrew University*
Harold Saunders, *The Brookings Institution*

Panel Discussion: Alternative U.S. Policy Approaches to Third World Conflicts

Panelists:

Madeleine Albright, *Center for National Policy*

Patrick Glynn, *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*

Samuel W. Lewis, *president, United States Institute of Peace*

Edward Luck, *United Nations Association*

Peter Rodman, *School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*

Eugene V. Rostow, *Distinguished Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*

Michael Vlahos, *Foreign Service Institute*

Conference on Ethnic Conflict Resolution Under the Rule of Law

June 12–14, 1991—Washington, D.C.

The three-day, dialogue-oriented conference on ethnic conflict and rule of law in East Europe brought together more than fifty East European members of parliament—and other civic leaders—for a three-cornered dialogue with forty Western experts on the rule of law and innovative solutions to ethnic conflict problems, and experts on East Europe. Subjects discussed also included democratization, institution building, and regional and international cooperation. See Chapter I for details on this conference.

Keynote Address

To Hate the People Your Family Hate: **Richard Schifter,** *assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs and member, Board of Directors, United States Institute of Peace*

Innovative Approaches to Ethnic Conflict

Sessions and Presenters:
Recurrent Sources and Patterns of Conflict: Walker Connor, *Trinity College*

Self-Determination: Martin Heisler, *University of Maryland*

Voting Across Ethnic Lines: Donald Horowitz, *Duke University*

Government Structures: **Uri Ra'anan,** *Boston University*

Innovative Approaches to Ethnic Conflict

Sessions and Presenters:
Mediation and Negotiation: Joseph Montville, Foreign Service Institute

Territorial Devolution: I. William Zartman, *School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*

Policies on Language, Education, Religion, Culture: Wallace Warfield, *George Mason University*

The Role of Religion in Mediating Ethnic Conflict: Richard John Neuhaus, *member, Board of Directors, United States Institute of Peace and Center for Religion and Public Life*

Rule of Law and Ethnic Conflict: Rights and Judiciaries

Sessions and Presenters:
Constitutionalism: A.E. Dick Howard, *University of Virginia*

Limits on Government: **Nadine Strossen,** *New York Law School*

Affirmative Rights: Mary Ann Glendon, *Harvard University*

Judicial Review and Independent Judiciary: **Jerome Barron,** *George Washington University*

Rule of Law and Ethnic Conflict: Structural Issues

Sessions and Presenters:
Federalism and Territorial Devolution: **John Kincaid,** *U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations*

Electoral Systems and Voting Rights: Abigail Thernstrom, *Boston University*

The Lawmaking Process and Parliaments: **Joel Aberbach,** *University of California, Los Angeles*

Executive Powers and Administration: **Louis Fisher,** *Library of Congress*

Problems of Self-Determination

Panelists:
Thomas Buergenthal, *George Washington University*

Hurst Hannum, *Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University*
Ruth Lapidoth, *Peace Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*

David Little, *United States Institute of Peace*
Peter Paczolay, *School of Law, Eötvös University, Budapest*
Oleg Rumiantsev, *Congress of Peoples' Deputies, USSR*

Future of International Cooperation in East Europe: Toward Brussels or Sarajevo

Panelists:

Lily Gardner Feldman, *American Institute of Contemporary German Studies*

Vojislav Stanovcic, *Belgrade University*

Vladimir Tismaneanu, *University of Maryland*

Ladislav Venys, *Center for Democracy and Free Interprise, Prague*

Samuel F. Wells, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*

Sam Wise, *Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe*

East European Participants

Nina Belyaeva, *president, Interlegal Research Center, Moscow*

Martin Butora, *Office of the President, Czech and Slovak Federative Republic*

Andrei Cornea, *Institute for Oriental Studies, Bucharest*

Paul Fudulu, *University of Brasov, Romania*

Fedor Gal, *chairman, Slovak Council, Public Against Violence, Bratislava, Czech and Slovak Federative Republic*

Nicolai Gheorghe, *Centrul de Sociologie, Bucharest, Romania*

Vasile Gogea, *editor,* ASTRA, *Brasov, Romania*

Anton Gosar, *University Edvard Kardeli, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia*

Matthias Heber, *Martin Luther University, Halle/Wittenberg, Germany*

Andras Heltai, *Hungarian News Agency*

Zoran Hodjera, *Democratic Party of Yugoslavia*

Istvan Ijgyarto, *Office of the Prime Minister, Department for the Hungarian Minorities Abroad*

Ivan Ilchev, *Sofia University, Bulgaria*

Rudolf Joo, *Eötvös University, Budapest, Hungary*

Steffen Kalauch, *Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany*

Tamás Kende, *secretary, foreign affairs, Alliance for Free Democrats, Hungary*

Peter Kresak, *Comenius University, Bratislava, Czech and Slovak Federative Republic*

Ivan L. Lebedev, *correspondent, TASS News Agency, Moscow, USSR*

Aleksandras Levinsonas, *economist and management consultant, Vilnius, Lithuania*

Krenar Loloci, *University of Tirana, Albania*

Vladimir Lukov, *Russian Socio-Political Institute, Moscow, USSR*

Balint Magyar, *Hungarian parliament and Executive Committee of the Alliance for Free Democrats*

Istvan Mészáros, *founding member, Alliance of Free Democrats and deputy chairman, Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights, Minorities, and Religion, Budapest, Hungary*

Mircea Mihaes, *editor-in-chief,* Orizont, *Romania*

Lucian Mihai, *University of Bucharest, Romania*

Sonia Mirtcevska, *Legal and Treaties Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bulgaria*

Cristian Moraru, *editor,* Counterpoint, *Romania*

Istvan Olah, *scholar, constitutional law and human rights, Hungary*

Paulina Oros, *Ministry of Justice, Hungary*

Peter Paczolay, *Eötvös University School of Law, Budapest, Hungary*

Valentin Paounov, *Institute of Law, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*

Dan Pavel, *Group of Social Dialogue and founder and editor,* 22, *Romania*

Slobodan Pavlovic, *U.S. correspondent,* Borba, *Yugoslavia*

Ryszard Piotrowski, *University of Warsaw, Poland*

Oleg Rumiantsev, *people's deputy and secretary, Constitutional Commission of the Russian Republic, USSR*

Peter Sereny, *correspondent,* Nepszabadsag, *Hungary*

Milan Simecka, *chairman, Slovak Committee on the Charter 77 Foundation, Czech and Slovak Federative Republic*

Vojislav Stanovcic, *Belgrade University, Yugoslavia*

Jurar Strasser, *Comenius School of Law, Bratislava, Czech and Slovak Federative Republic*

Peter Szemerei, *founder, Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), Hungary*

Maria Todorova, *University of Sofia, Bulgaria*

Laszlo Tokai, *legal expert, Hungary*

Michal Tomasek, *Department of International Economic Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Czech and Slovak Federative Republic*

Gabor Turi, *political affairs editor,* Hajdu-Bihari Naplo, *Debrecen, Hungary*

Vadim V. Udalov, *Visiting Fellow, United States Institute of Peace, and principal deputy to the director, Research Coordination Center, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, USSR*

Ladislav Venys, *Center for Democracy and Free Enterprise, Prague, Czech and Slovak Federative Republic*

Natasa Vuckovic, *attorney, Yugoslavia*

Radovan Vukadinovic, *Sveuciliste University, Zagreb, Croatia*

Marek Wierzbowski, *Warsaw University, Poland*

Krzysztof Wojtowicz, *University of Wroclaw. Poland*

Anna Maria Wolanska, *director, International Relations for Trade Union Solidarity, Poland*

Jindra Zemanova, *member, Citizens' Movement, Czech and Slovak Federative Republic*

Dusan Zupan, *Washington bureau chief, Tanjug News Agency, Yugoslavia*

Studies and Working Groups

The Institute's studies and working groups bring together specialists for periodic sessions on a specific topic that may occur over a period of a year or more. The groups involve a core of expert participants who are involved throughout the period of study, augmented by experts on particular subjects covered at individual sessions.

Study on Strengthening World Order and the United Nations Charter System Against Secret Warfare and Low-Intensity Conflict

Undeclared wars—frequently referred to as "low-intensity conflict"—have increasingly threatened world order since World War II. These types of conflicts represent important and challenging forms of international violence—whether they are the result of state-supported terrorism; coups d'état; wars of national liberation; or the covert violence practiced by drug cartels, transnational organizations, and intelligence services.

Begun in October 1988, the study examines the nature of low-intensity conflict and its instrumentalities; the nature of the challenge it presents to the United Nations Charter and international law; and ways in which policy mechanisms, international institutions, legal rules, and diplomatic practices might be altered to cope more effectively with the threat. The project covered eight two-day sessions—four of which occurred during the period reviewed in this report.

Conditions Affecting Present Trends: Activities Destructive of World Order by Intelligence Agencies

October 13–14, 1989
Washington, D.C.

Topics and Presenters:

The KGB
Jeffrey Richelson, *National Security Archive*
Herbert Romerstein, *retired, United States Information Agency*

Historical Case Studies of Secret Warfare
Williamson Murray, *Ohio State University*
Brian Sullivan, *U.S. Naval War College*

Western Intelligence Services
Loch Johnson, *University of Georgia, Athens*
Roy Godson, *National Strategic Information Center*

Remedies to Activities Destructive of World Order by Intelligence Services
James Der Derian, *University of Massachusetts, Amherst*
Paul Seabury, *University of California, Berkeley*
Alberto Coll, *U.S. Naval War College*

Conditions Affecting Present Trends: Secret Warfare Activities by Transnational Groups and Non-State Entities: The Middle East and Latin America

January 5–6, 1990
Miami, Florida

Topics and Presenters:

Radical Palestinian and Shiite Terrorist Organizations
Xavier Raufer, *University of Law (Paris II) and the French War College*
Assad Abu-Khalil, *Georgetown University*
W. Scott Harrop, *University of Virginia*
Gregg Rickman, *Institute for Soviet and Middle Eastern Affairs*

South American Drug Cartels
Rensselaer Lee, *Global Advisory Services*
Bruce Bagley, *University of Miami*
David Jordan, *University of Virginia*

Narco-Terrorism: Realities and Myths
Rachel Ehrenfeld, *Freedom House*
Peter Lupsha, *University of New Mexico*
Jaime Suchlicki, *University of Miami*

Implications of Current U.S.–Soviet Developments for Middle East and Latin American Terrorism
Jiri Valenta, *Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami*
Alberto Coll, *U.S. Naval War College*

Policy Alternatives to Deal with Secret Warfare: International Law

March 16–17, 1990
Washington, D.C.

Topics and Presenters:
International Law and Secret Warfare
James E. Baker, *School of Law, Yale University*
W. Michael Reisman, *School of Law, Yale University*
Thomas Farer, *University of New Mexico*
James Turner Johnson, *Rutgers University*

Secret Warfare: Policy Options for a Modern Legal and Institutional Context
Thomas M. Franck, American Journal of International Law
Eugene V. Rostow, *National Defense University*

Deterring Secret Warfare: A Historical Perspective
Brian Sullivan, *U.S. Naval War College*
Charles W. Kegley, Jr., *University of South Carolina*
Michael Joseph Smith, *University of Virginia*

Institutions and Mechanisms Available to Liberal Democracies to Deter Secret Warfare

June 22–23, 1990
Washington, D.C.

Topics and Presenters:
The Morality and Political Effectiveness of Democracies Resorting to Secret Warfare as a Countermeasure Against Adversarial Secret Warfare
Gregory F. Treverton, *Council on Foreign Relations*
Richard H. Shultz, *Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University*

Secret Warfare and International Order: Differences in Analysis and Prescription
Thomas J. Farer, *Freedom House*
Alberto Coll, *deputy assistant secretary of defense for special operations and low-intensity conflict*
Patrick Glynn, *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*

Other Participants

Harry Almond, *Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University*
Anthony Arend, *Georgetown University*
Charles Beitz, *Swarthmore College*
J. Boyer Bell, *International Analysis Center, Inc.*
Richard Bilder, *School of Law, University of Wisconsin*
David Campbell, *The Johns Hopkins University*
Georges Fauriol, *Center for Strategic and International Studies*
Michael Freney, *U.S. Naval War College*
Allan Gerson, *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*
L.F.E. Goldie, *College of Law, Syracuse University*
Lawrence Hargrove, *American Society of International Law*
Christopher Harmon, *U.S. Naval War College*
Mark Janis, *School of Law, University of Connecticut*
Kenneth M. Jensen, *United States Institute of Peace*
Anthony James Joes, *Saint Joseph's University*
James Turner Johnson, *Rutgers University*
Larry Johnson, *Department of Defense*
Christopher Joyner, *George Washington University*
Michael Klare, *Hampshire College*
Mark Lagon, *Georgetown University*
W. Thomas Mallison, *George Washington University*
Albert Michaels, *University of New York, Buffalo*
John Norton Moore, *chairman, Board of Directors, United States Institute of Peace and University of Virginia School of Law*
John Murphy, *Villanova University School of Law*
Laurie Mylroie, *Harvard University*
Charles E. Nelson, *United States Institute of Peace*
David Newsom, *Georgetown University*
Robert Phillips, *University of Connecticut*
Michael Radu, *Foreign Policy Research Institute*
William Ratliff, *Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University*
J. Ashley Roach, *Oceans, International Environments*
Joel Rosenthal, *Carnegie Council*
Seymour J. Rubin, *The American Society of International Law*
Alan Ned Sabrosky, *Rhodes College*
Jeffrey Salmon, *Office of the Secretary of Defense*
Richard Staar, *Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University*
B. Hugh Tovar, *independent scholar, Washington, D.C.*
W. Bruce Weinrod, *member, Board of Directors, United States Institute of Peace and The Heritage Foundation*
H. Bradford Westerfield, *Yale University*
Dov Zakheim, *Systems Planning Corporation*

Working Group on Peace and Deterrence after the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Agreement

An Institute working group on Peace and Deterrence after the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Agreement brought together leading experts and former officials to address such topics as the assumptions and definitions of deterrence as a theory, questions about its conventional and low-intensity applications, the status of nuclear deterrence between the United States and the Soviet Union: the role of deterrence in preventing regional conflicts and promoting security, and the legal and moral ramifications of and possible alternatives to deterrence. The working group held five two-day sessions in 1990 and 1991. (The session on the Middle East is included under the "Middle East Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution" section of this chapter. Chapter II provides additional information about the working group.)

Peace and Deterrence: Defining Terms and Concepts

October 19–20,1989
Washington, D.C.

Topics and Presenters:

Introduction: The Debate over Deterrence
David Wurmser, *United States Institute of Peace*

The Theory of Deterrence
Colin Gray, *National Institute for Public Policy*
Michael Mobbs, *Feith & Zell P.C.*
Charles Kupperman, *McDonnell Douglas Corporation*

The Evolution of the Concept of Deterrence
Richard K. Betts, *Institute for War and Peace Studies, Columbia University*
George H. Quester, *University of Maryland*
Keith Payne, *National Institute for Public Policy*
Patrick Glynn, *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*

The Current Requirements of Deterrence
Robert C. McFarlane, *McFarlane Associates*
William C. Martel, *Washington Research Division, RAND*
David Rivkin, *legal advisor to the Honorable C. Boyden Gray, counsel to the President*

The Future of Deterrence
Fred C. Iklé, *Center for Strategic and International Studies*
Stephen J. Cimbala, *Pennsylvania State University*
Dov Zakheim, *Systems Planning Corporation*

The Cultural and Ideological Contexts of Deterrence

February 12–13,1990
Washington, D.C.

Topics and Presenters:

Keynote Address: The Employment of Terror: Interval War under Soviet and Totalitarian Regimes
Jeane Kirkpatrick, *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research and former permanent U.S. representative to the United Nations*

Issues for Analysis
David Wurmser, *United States Institute of Peace*

The United States and Europe
Michael Vlahos, *Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State*

The Soviet Union and Totalitarian Regimes
Leon Gouré, *consultant*
Thomas Nichols, *Dartmouth College*
Ilana Kass, *National Defense University*
David Rivkin, *legal advisor to the Honorable C. Boyden Gray, counsel to the President*

The Far East
Gerrit Gong, *Center for Strategic and International Studies*
Nobutaka Ike, *professor emeritus, Stanford University*
Roger Brooks, *Asian Studies Center, The Heritage Foundation*

The Middle East
Adam Garfinkle, *Foreign Policy Research Institute*
Elie Krakowski, *Boston University*
James Coyle, *Army War College*
Daniel Pipes, *Foreign Policy Research Institute*

The Future of European and Western Security Arrangements and Deterrence

July 9–10, 1990
Washington, D.C.

Topics and Presenters:

Introduction: The Nature of the Current Debate
Daniel Gouré, *SRS Technologies*

Keynote Address: Future of Western Security Arrangements and Deterrence
Paul H. Nitze, *School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, and former ambassador-at-large for arms control negotiations*

Global U.S. Security Objectives
Kim Holmes, *The Heritage Foundation*
Jeffrey Simon, *Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University*

Western Security Arrangements in Europe
William Martel, *RAND*
Keith Payne, *National Institute for Public Policy*
Robert Rudney, *National Institute for Public Policy*

Western Security Arrangements in the Far East
Thomas Blau, *InTecTran, Inc.*
Rodney Jones, *Policy Architects, Inc.*

New Conceptions of Deterrence and Doctrine
Notra Trulock, *Strategic Capabilities Assessment Center, National Defense University*
Henry Cooper, *JAYCOR*
Ted Gold, *Hicks and Associates*

Regional Security in the Pacific Basin: East Asia in Change and Implications for U.S. Policy

May 2–3, 1991
Washington, D.C.

Topics and Presenters:

Keynote Address: U.S. Security Objectives in East Asia
Richard H. Solomon, *assistant secretary of state for East Asian affairs*

Shifting Alignments in East Asia
Gerrit Gong, *Center for Strategic and International Studies*
Ken Pyle, *University of Washington*
Robert Sutter, *Congressional Research Service*

Peace or Conflict in Southeast Asia
Evelyn Colbert, *School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*
MacArthur F. Corsino, *Embassy of the Philippines*
Arch Roberts, *Foreign Affairs Committee, U.S. House of Representatives*

The Future American Military Presence in East Asia
Carl Ford, *principal deputy assistant secretary of defense for Asia*

Japan's Role in East Asian Security
Takayuki Kimura, *deputy chief of mission, Embassy of Japan*

Dynamics of Divided Countries
Ralph Clough, *School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*
Mark Pratt, *former foreign service officer*
Alan Romberg, *Council on Foreign Relations*

The Impact of Gorbachev's Visit to Japan
Yergeniy Afanasyev, *minister, Embassy of the USSR*

Future Economic and Military Arrangements in East Asia
James Clad, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*
Bart Boaden, *University of Maryland*
Richard Grant, *Pacific Forum*

Study Group

Future Prospects for Conflict or Peace in Central and Eastern Europe

Design for this study group began in early 1989—well before the dramatic upheavals in the region had occurred. Composed of more than fifty scholars, diplomats, policymakers, and experts from Eastern and Central European countries, the group met for six half-day sessions between October 1989 and January 1990. Their final report was distributed to government officials, the Congress, and the interested public. Chapter II provides details on this project.

Participants

Alexander Alexiev, *RAND*
John Baker, *Atlantic Council of the United States*
Robert Barry, *U.S. Department of State*
Elez Biberaj, *Voice of America*
Fredrick M. Binder, *Foreign Policy Research Institute*
Corneliu Bogdan, *former Romanian ambassador to the United States*
James Brown, *RAND*
Valerie Bunce, *Northwestern University*
Eric Chenoweth, *Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe*
Walter Connor, *Russian Research Center, Harvard University*
Keith Crane, *RAND*
Nadia Diuk, *National Endowment for Democracy*
Paula Dobriansky, *deputy assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs*
William Echikson, *Russian Research Center, Harvard University*
David Epstein, *Office of NET Assessment, U.S. Department of Defense*
John Evans, *Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*
Marvin Feuerwerger, *Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State*
John Fox, *Policy Planning Office, U.S. Department of State*
Ben Frankel, *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*
Francis Fukuyama, *Policy Planning Office, U.S. Department of State*
Charles Gati, *Union College*
Richard Hassing, *Center for Naval Analyses*
Gerald Helman, *former U.S. ambassador to the European office of the United Nations, Geneva*
George Hoffman, *Sino-Soviet Institute, George Washington University*
James Holmes, *Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State*
Russel Ingraham, *Office of Eastern Europe and Yugoslav Affairs, U.S. Department Of State*
Kenneth M. Jensen, *United States Institute of Peace*
Philip M. Kaiser, *former U.S. ambassador to Hungary*
Roger Kirk, *former U.S. ambassador to Romania*
John Lampe, *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*
John Lenczowski, *Council for Inter-American Security*
Samuel W. Lewis, *president, United States Institute of Peace*
Jeffrey McKitrick, *Office of the Vice President of the United States*
Michael Mandelbaum, *Council on Foreign Relations*
Paul Marer, *Indiana University*
Michailo Markovic, *University of Pennsylvania*
Thomas Melia, *National Democratic Institute*
Stephen Miller, *Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty*
Andrew Nagorski, Newsweek
Daniel Nelson, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*
Herbert S. Okun, *Carnegie Corporation of New York and former U.S. ambassador to West Germany*
Harold Rhode, *Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy*
Rozanne Ridgway, *president, Atlantic Council of the United States and former U.S. ambassador to the German Democratic Republic*
Walter Roberts, *George Washington University*
Peter Rodman, *National Security Council*
Trudy Rubin, The Philadelphia Inquirer
Francis Seay, *The Heritage Foundation*
Thomas Simons, *diplomat-in-residence, Brown University*
Saul Singer, *National Security Council*
Helmut Sonnenfeldt, *The Brookings Institution*
Harland Strauss, *U.S. Department of Defense*
Milan Svec, *Peace Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*
James Swihart, *U.S. Department of State*
Jacek Tarkowski, *Warsaw University and advisor to Solidarity*
Vladimir Tismaneanu, *Foreign Policy Research Institute*
Rudolf Tokes, *University of Connecticut*
Miklos Vasarhelyi, *Soros Foundation*
W. Bruce Weinrod, *member, Board of Directors, United States Institute of Peace*
Andrew Wood, *minister, British Embassy to the United States*

Public Workshop Series

Public workshops are three-hour events on timely questions relating to conflict and peace. Since the series was begun in 1988, the Institute has held sixteen of these events, six during the period under review. Topics for these workshops have ranged from pacifism and citizenship, to democracies, peace, and war, to the future stability of Yugoslavia. To address issues concerning the rapidly changing political and socioeconomic environment in the Soviet Union, a separate series of workshops, entitled "Current Soviet Crisis," was inaugurated in 1990.

Resolving Regional Conflicts: A Role for U.S.–Soviet Cooperation?

November 14, 1989
Austin, Texas

This workshop was designed to assess the superpower relationship regarding trouble spots in the Third World. Participants were asked to consider whether U.S.–Soviet cooperation with respect to regional conflicts is a long-term possibility; how U.S. and Soviet interests might be advanced by resolving regional conflicts; if the United States and the Soviet Union operate with different ideas of how regional conflicts should end, and, if so, what U.S. policy should be; if U.S.–Soviet cooperative involvement in resolving regional conflicts is preferable to other alternatives such as multilateral diplomacy; and if cooperation between the superpowers will benefit the regions where they act together to end conflict.

Participants

Robert B. German, *Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas, Austin*
Jorge Caceres-Prendes, *Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin*
Nayam Chanda, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*
Kenneth M. Jensen, *United States Institute of Peace*
Mark Katz, *Peace Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*
Samuel W. Lewis, *president, United States Institute of Peace*
Jagat Mehta, *Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas, Austin, and former Indian foreign secretary*
Jiri Valenta, *University of Miami*
Sidney Weintraub, *Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas, Austin*

Can There Be an International Solution to the Cambodian Question?

February 20, 1990
Honolulu, Hawaii

At this workshop, scholars and diplomats addressed the possibility of achieving an internationally managed solution to Cambodia's ongoing, seemingly intractable civil conflict. The workshop was a part of a two-day Institute event on issues affecting the Pacific Rim and Asia that was conducted with the University of Hawaii Institute for Peace and the East–West Center in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Participants

Muthiah Alagappa, *East–West Center*
Frederick Z. Brown, *The Indochina Center, George Mason University*
Kenneth Conboy, *Asian Studies Center, The Heritage Foundation*
Kenneth M. Jensen, *United States Institute of Peace*
William Kintner, *former U.S. ambassador to Thailand and member, Board of Directors, United States Institute of Peace*

The Romanian Revolution: Present Prospects

March 9, 1990
Washington, D.C.

Cosponsored by the East European Studies Program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, this workshop focused on the meaning of events in Romania since the fall of Ceausescu on December 23, 1989, and the prospects for democracy and social peace in Romania in the coming three to five years. The workshop also served as a memorial to the late Romanian Ambassador to the United States Corneliu Bogdan and honored both the notable dissident and former Wilson Center fellow Vlad Georgescu and Klemens Szaniawski, who was also a Wilson Center fellow.

Speakers

Mihai Botez, *Stanford University*
John Lampe, *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*
Kenneth M. Jensen, *United States Institute of Peace*

The Future Stability of Yugoslavia

January 29, 1991
Washington, D.C.

Convened in cooperation with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, this workshop brought together a panel of experts on the Balkans to discuss Yugoslavia's future in terms of economic, political, and ethnic issues. Some of the subjects raised during the workshop included Yugoslavia's move away from communism; the problems of national restructuring; the implementation of legal, political, and institutional reforms; privatization; and other issues of autonomy and community between the six republics and two autonomous regions of Yugoslavia.

Participants

David Binder, The New York Times
Milan Hauner, *Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars*
Kenneth M. Jensen, *United States Institute of Peace*
John Moore, *George Mason University*
Eugen Pusic, *Department of Political Science and Law, University of Zagreb*
Dennison I. Rusinow, *University of Pittsburgh*

What Is the Nature of the Current Crisis in the Soviet Union and How Do We Know?

February 27, 1990
Washington, D.C.

This workshop brought together eminent Soviet experts to discuss the events and conditions that led to the current state of the union, the reasons why Western Sovietologists failed to predict the crisis, and its near- and long-term consequences.

Core Participants

Leon Aron, *The Heritage Foundation*
Charles Fairbanks, Jr., *School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*
Kenneth M. Jensen, *United States Institute of Peace*
Stephen Sestanovich, *Center for Strategic and International Affairs*

Invited Expert

Vladimir Brovkin, *Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars*

The Current Soviet Crisis: The Baltics, Union Referendum, and the Gulf War

February 25,1991
Washington, D.C.

Topics included recent events in the Baltics, the March 17 Soviet referendum on union, Gorbachev's turn toward repression, and Soviet policies and the Persian Gulf war.

Core Participants

Leon Aron, *The Heritage Foundation*
Charles Fairbanks, Jr., *School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*
Patrick Glynn, *American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research*
Kenneth M. Jensen, *United States Institute of Peace*
Myron Rush, *Cornell University*
Milan Svec, *Peace Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*

MIDDLE EAST PEACEMAKING AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Distinguished Fellow Eugene Rostow addressed several Middle East-related issues during his fellowship. He is pictured here with Madeleine Albright, president of the Center for National Policy, at an Institute panel session.

All the activities listed under this special initiative are described in Chapter I.

Regional Arms Control Issues and Prospects in the Post-War Middle East

The Institute convened this informal study group to address arms control issues for the region. An interim report, issued in May 1991, after the first four sessions, provided arms control ideas to the executive branch, the Congress, and other interested audiences.

Study Group Participants

Abderahman S. Abderahman, *Embassy of Egypt*
Col. Edward Cabaness, *Department of Defense, Net Assessment*
W. Seth Carus, *Washington Institute for Near East Policy*
Helena Cobban, *Foundation for Middle East Peace*
Pierce Corden, *Arms Control and Disarmament Agency*
Richard E. Darilek, *RAND*
Lee Feinstein, *Arms Control Association*
Douglas Feith, *Feith, Zell and Associates*
Shai Feldman, *Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Chicago*
Marvin Feuerwerger, *Washington Institute for Near Eastern Policy*
Charles Flowerree, *former U.S. ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament*
Robert Gallucci, *United Nations Commission on Implementation of UNSCR 687*
Raymond Garthoff, *The Brookings Institution*
Brad Gordon, *Arms Control and Disarmament Agency*
Eric Hamburg, *Office of Representative Lee Hamilton*
Mark Heller, *Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security*

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Study Group Participants—
Continued

Hume Horan, *United States Institute of Peace and former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia*
Kenneth M. Jensen, *United States Institute of Peace*
Ilana Kass, *National Defense University*
Geoffrey Kemp, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*
James Leonard, *retired foreign service officer*
Simon Leschem-Stein, *Embassy of Israel*
Samuel W. Lewis, *president, United States Institute of Peace*
Karen Masterson, *Office of Congressman Tony Hall*
Brian McKeon, *Office of Senator Joseph Biden*
Michael Nacht, *University of Maryland*
Janne Nolan, *The Brookings Institution*
Jennifer Noyon, *U.S. Department of State*
Roger F. Pajak, *U.S. Department of the Treasury*
Thomas Parker, *Office of Senator Joseph Lieberman*
Andrew Pierre, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*
Daniel Pipes, *Foreign Policy Research Institute*
Alan Platt, *The Henry L. Stimson Center*
Robin Ranger, *Peace Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*
Indar Rikhye, *Visiting Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*
James Rubin, *Office of Senator Joseph Biden*
Gary Samore, *U.S. Department of State*
Sarah Sewall, *Senate Democratic Policy Committee*
Michael Shiloh, *minister, Embassy of Israel*
Abram Shulsky, *National Strategy Information Center*
Jed C. Snyder, *Washington Strategy Seminar*
Leonard Specter, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*
Steven Spiegel, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Douglas Streusand, *private consultant*
Hillel Weinberg, *private consultant*
Jay Winik, *National Defense University*
David Wurmser, *United States Institute of Peace*

Lessons of the Gulf War for Strengthening the United Nations Collective Security System Against Aggression

The Institute began its study of this issue with two sessions that addressed such topics as how to strengthen the UN and increase its effectiveness, how the institutionalization of specific articles of the UN Charter would further U.S. interests, strengthening the role of the UN secretariat, increasing the profile of the UN secretary general, and choosing a new secretary general. Other sessions will address issues such as humanitarian versus politico-security issues, educating the public about the UN, and increasing the effectiveness of regional organizations.

Study Group Participants

John Baker, *Atlantic Council of the United States*
W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., *former U.S. ambassador to NATO*
Richard Gardner, *Columbia University School of Law*
Tobi Trister Gati, *United Nations Association*
Stephen Grummon, *Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State*
Gerald B. Helman, *Office of the Under Secretary for Policy Affairs, U.S. Department of State*
H. Allen Holmes, *U.S. ambassador-at-large for burdensharing, U.S. Department of State*
Kenneth M. Jensen, *United States Institute of Peace*
Ingrid Lehman, *UN Information Center, Washington, D.C.*
James Leonard, *former U.S. ambassador*
Samuel W. Lewis, *president, United States Institute of Peace*
Joseph Lorenz, *retired foreign service officer and independent scholar*
Linda B. Miller, *Wellesley College*
David Popper, *American Academy of Diplomacy*
Indar Rikhye, *Visiting Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*
Robert Rosenstock, *U.S. Mission to the United Nations*
Eugene V. Rostow, *Distinguished Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*
John Gerard Ruggie, *Institute of Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California, San Diego*
Oscar Schachter, *Columbia University School of Law*
David Scheffer, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*
William Sherman, *School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University*
Joseph H. Sisco, *Sisco and Associates*
James Sutterlin, *Yale University*

UN Peacekeeping in the Persian Gulf

This study group focused on UN peacekeeping operations as they related to the Gulf crisis. Participants examined the UN's role during and after the war, including traditional peacekeeping and enforcement operations, humanitarian assistance and security for refugees, precedents established, and prospects for the future. The project was later combined with the study on collective security.

Study Group Participants

Abderahman Abderahman, *Embassy of Egypt*
Charles W. Arnold, *Lieutenant Colonel, U.S. Army*
Keven Francis Conmy, *Permanent Mission of Ireland to the United Nations*
Lars-Göran Engfeldt, *Permanent Mission of Sweden to the United Nations*
Helmut Freudenschuss, *Permanent Mission of Austria to the United Nations*
James Hamilton-Russel, *Embassy of the United Kingdom*
Gilbert Kulick, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*
Samuel W. Lewis, *president, United States Institute of Peace*
Michael S. Lund, *United States Institute of Peace*
Clovis Maksoud, *The American University, and former permanent representative of the Arab League to the United Nations*
Phebe Marr, *Strategic Concepts Development Center, National Defense University*
Michael Priestley, *UNDP Administrator of Humanitarian Affairs*
Indar Rihkye, *Visiting Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*
Abdul Aziz Said, *the American University*
Hisako Shimura, *Office of Special Political Affairs, United Nations*

Regional Security in the Middle East: Arab and Israeli Concepts of Deterrence and Defense

June 17–19, 1991
Washington, D.C.

This conference was part of the Institute's larger working group on deterrence. Participants included leading American, Arab, and Israeli practitioners, scholars, and other experts. Major topics considered included lessons about deterrence based on Iraqi actions that precipitated the Gulf crisis and possible security arrangements for the Eastern Mediterranean, the Gulf, and the Middle East as a whole.

Topics and Presenters:

Keynote Address: The Role of Deterrence in the Middle East
Geoffrey Kemp, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

The Syrian Concept of Deterrence Vis-à-Vis Israel
Itamar Rabinovich, *Tel Aviv University*
Brigadier General (Reserves) Aryeh Shalev, *Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies*
Habib Malik, *Catholic University*

The Failure of Israel's Deterrence Vis-à-Vis Iraq
Amatzia Baram, *Haifa University*
Gerald Steinberg, *Bar Ilan University*
Laurie Mylroie, *Harvard University*
Alexander George, *Distinguished Fellow, United States Institute of Peace*
Ahmed Hashim, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

The Israeli Concept of Deterrence and Defense
Shai Feldman, *Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies*
Yair Evron, *Tel Aviv University*

Keith Payne, *National Institute for Public Policy*
Avner Yaniv, *University of Haifa*
Marvin Feuerwerger, *Washington Institute for Near East Policy*

Deterring Terrorism
Aharon Yariv, *Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies*
Martin Kramer, *Dayan Center for Middle East Studies*
Asher Susser, *Dayan Center for Middle East Studies*
Alan W. Lukens, *Diplomatic Security, Inc.*

Israeli Security into the Twenty-First Century
Zalman Shoval, *Israeli ambassador to the United States*

Saudi Arabia's Security Perspective and Its Impact on the Region
Robert Neumann, *Center for Strategic and International Studies, former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia*

Roundtable Discussion: Security in the Levant and East Mediterranean Sea
Samuel W. Lewis, *president, United States Institute of Peace*
Joseph Alpher, *Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies*
Paul Jureidini, *Abbott Associates*
Patrick Clawson, *Foreign Policy Research Institute*
Bernard Reich, *George Washington University*

Regional Security in the Middle East: Arab and Israeli Concepts of Deterrence and Defense— ***Continued***

Roundtable Discussion: Security in the Arabian Peninsula and Western Gulf
Hume Horan, *former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia*
Douglas Streusand, *consultant*
Jed Snyder, *Washington Strategy Seminar*
Christine Helms, *consultant*
John Duke Anthony, *president, National Council on U.S.–Arab Relations*
Walter Cutler, *president, Meridian House, and former U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia*

Lessons from Peacemaking Efforts in the Middle East: Approaches and Diplomatic Processes

This study group examined the most and least effective aspects of Arab–Israeli negotiations over the past fifty years. Emphasis was placed on lessons from past multilateral diplomacy that might be relevant to today's negotiations. A final report was issued in October 1991. More extensive information about the study group—including a list of members—and the report can found in Chapter I.

RELIGION, ETHICS, AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Experts participate in press briefing on events in Ukraine and Institute publication, Ukraine: The Legacy of Intolerance. *(From left to right) Susan Eisenhower, Institute senior scholar David Little, Fr. Frank Estocin, and Bohdan Bociurkiw.*

Initiated in 1989, the Institute's program on Religion, Ethics, and Human Rights is designed to study the interplay of religion and associated factors as they relate to international conflict and conflict resolution. Under the auspices of this program, the Institute is directing research projects; cooperating with individuals, organizations, and agencies concerned with related subjects; and participating in conferences, educational events, and other outreach activities.

The Working Group on Religion, Ideology, and Peace is the first major activity of this program. To conduct the study, the Institute has formed a twenty-five-member core working group of scholars, international legal and human rights experts, and religious practitioners and representatives. The group is examining the relationship between religion, nationalism, and intolerance. Additional information on this working group is contained in Chapter II.

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Members of the Working Group on Religion, Ideology, and Peace

Kevin Avruch, *George Mason University*
Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, *Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada*
Francis Deng, *The Brookings Institution*
Patti Gossman, *Asia Watch, Washington, D.C.*
Lubomyr Hajda, *Harvard University*
Hurst Hannum, *The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University*
James Turner Johnson, *Rutgers University*
Mark Juergensmeyer, *University of Hawaii*
John Kelsay, *Florida State University*
Samir Khalaf, *Princeton University*
Sidney Liskofsky, *Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights of the American Jewish Committee*
David Little, *United States Institute of Peace*
Ian Lustick, *Dartmouth College*
Salim Nasr, *Center for Peace and Reconstruction*
Sulayman Nyang, *Howard University*
Gerald Powers, *U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops*
Abdulaziz Sachedina, *University of Virginia*
John P. Salzberg, *Working Group on the Questions of a United Nations Convention on Religious Tolerance*
H.L. Seneviratne, *University of Virginia*
Elliot Sperling, *Indiana University*
Donna Sullivan, *International League for Human Rights*
Stanley Tambiah, *Harvard University*
Robert Thurman, *Columbia University*
Father Alexander Webster, *Ethics and Public Policy Center*
George Weigel, *Ethics and Public Policy Center*

WORKING GROUP SESSIONS

Following are brief descriptions of sessions of the Working Group on Religion, Ideology, and Peace held between October 1, 1989, and September 30, 1991.

Ukraine: The Threat of Intolerance and the Promise of Pluralism

June 20–21, 1990
Washington, D.C.

This session dealt with an example from the Christian tradition, posing questions about belief and political legitimacy, as well as ethnicity and nationalism. The specific roles of ideology and intolerance were of particular interest because of the recent religious events in Ukraine as a result of recent upheaval in the Soviet Union.

Session Topics and Speakers

David Little, *working group director and senior scholar, United States Institute of Peace*

The Politics of Religion in the Ukraine under Gorbachev: The Case of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church
Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, *Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada*
Lubomyr Hajda, *Harvard University*

Restructuring the State-to-Church Relationship, and Paths toward the Normalization of the Religious Situation in Ukraine
Mykola Panasovych-Kolesnyk, *Council of Religious Affairs, Moscow, USSR*
Marta Bohachevsky-Chomiak, *National Endowment for the Humanities*

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
Father Frank Estocin, *St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral, Philadelphia, and St. Sophia Ukrainian Orthodox Seminary, South Bound Brook, New Jersey*
Jaraslaw Isajevych, *Harvard Ukrainian Research Center*

The Russian Orthodox's Attitude toward the Situation in Ukraine
Jane Ellis, *Keston College, England*
Father Alexander Webster, *priest of the Romanian Orthodox Church and fellow, Ethics and Policy Center, Washington, D.C.*

Religious Intolerance and Conflict in Sri Lanka

September 4–5, 1990
Washington, D.C.

Sri Lanka provided a prime example for the study of a society where exclusive community identity and hostile competition over questions of race, language, ethnicity, religion, and political control have resulted in intensive, destructive conflict. The Buddhist–Hindu aspect of the conflict; the problems of religion, ethnicity, and nationalism; and the complexity and types of relationships between belief and intolerance were examined.

Religious Intolerance and Conflict in Sri Lanka Session—*Continued*

Topics and Speakers

David Little, *working group director and senior scholar, United States Institute of Peace*

Buddhaputra and Bhumiputra? Dilemmas of Modern Sinhala Buddhist Monks in Relation to Ethnic and Political Conflict
Sarath Amunugama, *International Center for Ethnic Studies, Sri Lanka*
Stanley Tambiah, *Harvard University*

The Accelerated Mahaweli Program and Ethnic Conflict
Patrick Peebles, *University of Missouri*
C.R. de Silva, *Bowdoin College*

Religion and Ethnicity in Sri Lanka
John Rogers, *Harvard University*
George Bond, *Northwestern University*

South Indian Cultural Nationalism and Separatism in Sri Lanka
H.L. Seneviratne, *University of Virginia*
Sarath Perinbanayagam, *City University of New York*

Religious Intolerance and Conflict in Lebanon

November 5–6, 1990
Washington, D.C.

Lebanon provided an opportunity to study Islamic traditions as they relate to intercommunal rivalry among different Islamic sects, among different Christian groups, and between Muslims and Christians. Of special interest was the question of the role of external forces in undermining Lebanon's traditions of tolerance, mutuality, and civility, and fostering divisiveness and antagonism among the different Lebanese religious factions.

Session Topics and Speakers

David Little, *working group director and senior scholar , United States Institute of Peace*

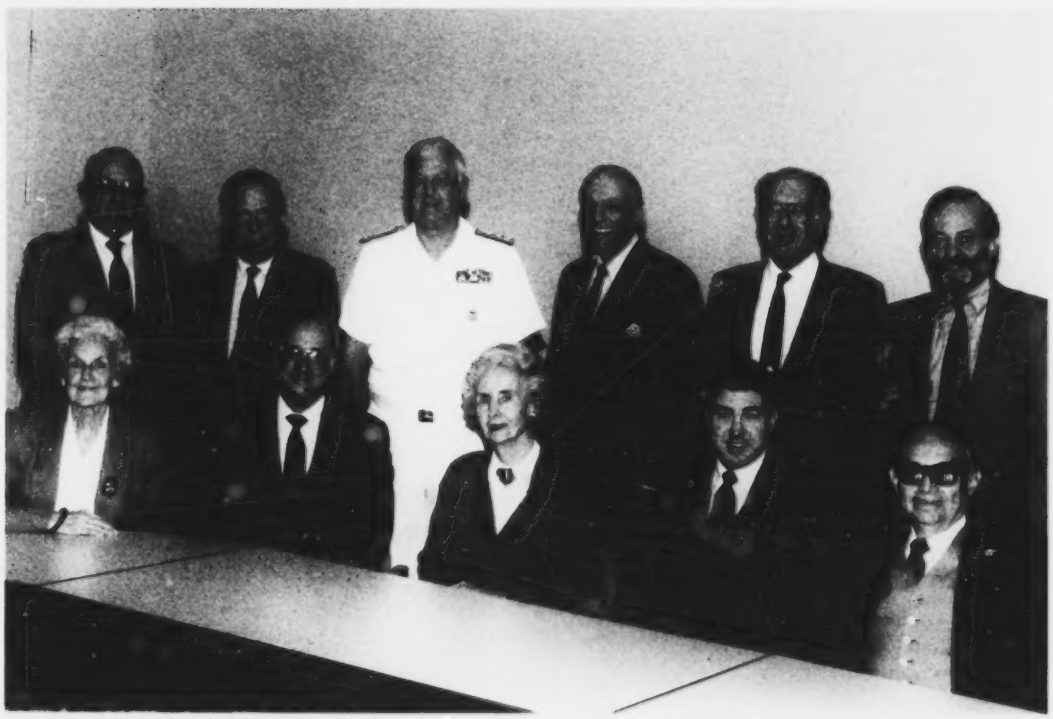
The Paradox of Tolerance and Conflict in Lebanon
Antoine Messara, *The Lebanese University, Beirut*
Nawaf Salam, *Harvard University*

Relations between the Vatican and the Maronite Community
George Irani, *Franklin College*

Intolerance, Religion, and Political Systems in Lebanon
Bassem al-Jisr, *Paris*
Mahmoud Hadad, *Middle East Institute, Columbia University*

The Ties That Bind: Confessional Loyalties and the Restoration of Pluralism in Lebanon
Samir Khalaf, *Princeton University*
Salim Nasr, *Center for Peace Reconstruction in Lebanon, Washington, D.C.*

CHAPTER V
MANAGEMENT AND FINANCE



The Institute's Board of Directors in early 1991. Seated (from left to right) Mary Louise Smith, John Norton Moore, Elspeth Davies Rostow, Ronald F. Lehman, II, and Morris I. Leibman. Standing (from left to right) Sidney Lovett, William Kintner, J.A. Baldwin, Samuel W. Lewis (nonvoting), Richard Schifter, and W. Scott Thompson. Not pictured: Dennis L. Bark, Stephen J. Hadley, Evron Kirkpatrick, Richard John Neuhaus, and Allen Weinstein. Chester Crocker and Theodore Hesburgh joined the Board in late 1991.

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BOARD OF DIRECTORS
GOVERNANCE AND LEADERSHIP

The United States Institute of Peace Act vests the powers of the corporation in a fifteen-member Board of Directors. Eleven directors are drawn from outside of federal service and are appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate. They may serve no more than two four-year terms. Four members serve ex officio: the secretaries of state and defense; the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (these officials may designate another person from their department or agency who has been appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate); and the president of the National Defense University or, if so designated, the vice president. The president of the United States Institute of Peace is a nonvoting member. No more than eight of the fifteen voting members may be of the same political party.

The Institute's chairman since its inception, John Norton Moore, resigned in June 1991. Vice chairman Elspeth Rostow was subsequently elected by the Board to fill the remainder of his term as chairman through February 1992. W. Bruce Weinrod left the Board in 1989 and the Reverends Sidney Lovett and Richard John Neuhaus left in 1991.

In 1990 and 1991, President Bush made four appointments to the Board. One was a reappointment to a second term for Elspeth Rostow and three were new appointments for Chester Crocker of Washington, D.C., professor of international relations at Georgetown University and former assistant secretary of state for African affairs; Rev. Theodore Hesburgh of Indiana, president emeritus, University of Notre Dame; and Mary Louise Smith of Iowa, former na-

Members of the Board as of November 30, 1991

(dates denote beginning of service and expiration of current term)

Elspeth Davies Rostow, *Chairman* (January 1988-January 1995)*
Dennis L. Bark (February 1986-January 1993)
Chester Crocker (November 1991-January 1995)
Theodore Hesburgh (November 1991-January 1995)
William R. Kintner (February 1986-January 1991)**
Evron M. Kirkpatrick (February 1986-January 1993)
Morris I. Leibman (February 1986-January 1991)**
Mary Louise Smith (December 1990-January 1995)
W. Scott Thompson (February 1986-January 1993)
Allen Weinstein (February 1986-January 1993)
one vacancy

Ex Officio***
Vice Admiral J.A. Baldwin, *president, National Defense University* (September 1989)
Stephen J. Hadley, *assistant secretary of defense for international security policy* (August 1989)
Ronald F. Lehman II, *director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency* (May 1989)
Richard Schifter, *assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs* (June 1986)

Samuel W. Lewis, *president, United States Institute of Peace, nonvoting* (November 1987)

Four original board members left in 1989 and 1991:
John Norton Moore, *Chairman* (February 1986-June 1991)
Sidney Lovett (February 1986-November 1991)
Richard John Neuhaus (February 1986-August 1991)
W. Bruce Weinrod (February 1986-December 1989)

* Rostow was elected chairman in July 1991. She had been vice chairman since January 1989.
** Although their appointive terms have expired, these directors continue to serve until replaced.
*** Ex officio members may serve as long as they hold their current positions.

tional chairman of the Republican party (to complete the term of Mr. Weinrod and for another full term). The appointments, which were confirmed by the Senate, expire in January 1995.

The United States Institute of Peace Act, which established the Institute, grants the Board of Directors considerable discretion in governing the Institute. In addition to establishing high ethical standards for itself and the staff, the Board sets long-term priorities and goals for the Institute and makes certain key decisions about the use of Institute resources. It approves major new program initiatives, chooses which grant and fellowship applicants should be offered awards, and selects national winners of the National Peace Essay Contest and the recipients of the Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace. Monitoring the Institute's financial, administrative, and personnel policies and practices is another important Board responsibility. The day-to-day management of the Institute is carried out by the president and executive vice president.

The Act and the Institute's bylaws specify that the Board must meet at least twice a year. Currently, it adheres to a schedule of six meetings per year, each lasting one or two days. Three meetings are devoted largely to program reviews with senior staff members, budget priorities, and long-term planning. The other three are devoted mainly to decisions relating to program cycles—deliberations on grants, fellowship, and essay contest awards.

The Board regularly obtains the advice of a wide range of outside experts in addition to receiving counsel from the Institute president and senior staff. For example, the Board makes use of outside review panels to inform its decisions on awarding grants, fellowships, and essay contest scholarships and is establishing a statutorily mandated advisory panel for the Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace. In addition, education experts advise the Institute on content and format questions for the "Breaking the Mold" educational video series, and the publication department seeks outside reviews of manuscripts under consideration for publication.

Chester Crocker (left) and the Reverend Theodore Hesburgh (right) joined the Institute's Board in late 1991.

In 1990, the Board created a Grant Committee to make recommendations to the full Board on individual grant awards. The revised procedure for considering grant applications is now as follows: Institute staff review applications for completeness and salience to the Institute's general mandate. Applications are then grouped into broad subject areas and reviewed by outside panels of experts chosen for their individual and collective range of experience and subject knowledge. After reviewing all applications, along with the recommendations of the outside panel and the views of the staff, the five-member Grant Committee prepares its own recommendations for the full Board. The committee is currently composed of the chairman of the Board Committees on Research and Studies, Information Services, and Education and Training, plus the Board chairman and vice chairman. The full Board then makes the final decisions on grant awards after discussing the committee's recommendations.

This new procedure affects the grant review process in two important ways: first, it reduces the amount of time the full Board spends reviewing applications, and second, it permits the Board to spend additional time discussing the most competitive applications. Consequently, the full Board is able to make a more thorough comparison of applications worthy of funding.

Left: Representative Dan Glickman speaks to the Board about Institute programs and priorities. Right: Board member Dennis L. Bark (left) and Leonard Robinson, deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs, converse after Robinson's presentation to the Board.

Experts Share Forecasts on Peacemaking and Security in the 1990s

In December 1990, the Board of Directors invited experts from different areas of public policy, foreign affairs, and education to address its members about major trends affecting international peace and the opportunities they present to the Institute. The occasion was designed to provide the Board with input from experts from diverse backgrounds and points of view as it considers medium- and long-term goals and priorities for the Institute.

Participants

David Abshire, *president, Center for Strategic and International Studies*

Elise Boulding, *general secretary, International Peace Research Association*

William Burns, *deputy director, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State*

Richard Gardner, *Henry L. Moses Professor of Law and International Organizations, Columbia Law School*

Dan Glickman, *Member, U.S. House of Representatives*

Samuel P. Huntington, *director, John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Harvard University*

Jeane Kirkpatrick, *former U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations*

Charles Krauthammer, *syndicated columnist*

C. William Maynes, *editor, Foreign Policy*

Edward J. Perkins, *director general, U.S. Foreign Service*

Leonard M. Robinson, *deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs*

Brent Scowcroft, *national security advisor to the President*

Sharon Shuster, *president, American Association of University Women*

Michael Vlahos, *director, Center for Study of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Service Institute*

Paul Wolfowitz, *under secretary of defense for policy*

Bernard Wood, *chief executive officer, Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security*

Aleksandr Yakovlev, *Institute of State and Law, Soviet Academy of Sciences*

APPROPRIATIONS AND BUDGETS

Congressional authorization levels for Institute appropriations were $10 million per year for fiscal years 1990 and 1991 and are $15 million per year for fiscal years 1992 and 1993. As shown in the table below, final appropriations for fiscal years 1990 and 1991 were $7,550,000 and $8,393,000, respectively. The final appropriation level for fiscal year 1992 is $11 million. A statutory requirement placed on the budget is that 25 percent of the Institute's annual appropriations be devoted to grants and contracts with nonprofit and official public institutions (section 1705(c)).

Congressional authorization and oversight are provided by the Senate Committees on Labor and Human Resources and Foreign Relations and the House Committees on Education and Labor and Foreign Affairs.

The Institute's budget cycle begins when the Institute provides information on its budget request to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in October to assist that office in preparing the Adminstration's overall budget. Under section 1709(a) of its enabling legislation, the Institute formally submits its request directly to Congress, customarily in January, shortly after the President submits his budget. Institute officials later testify on the request before the Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies subcommittees of the Senate and House Appropriations Committees.

As indicated in the table on the next page, the Institute had operating budgets of $8,132,000 in fiscal year 1990 and $8,965,000 in fiscal year 1991. Operating budgets include the final

Authorization and Appropriations History (in thousands of dollars)

Fiscal Year	Authorization	Initial Appropriation	Adjustments	Final Appropriation
1985	$ 6,000	$4,000	$ —	$ 4,000
1986	10,000	—	—	—
1987	6,000	6,25	—	6,25
1988	10,000	4,308	(18)*	4,290
1989	10,000	7,000	(84)**	6,916
1990	10,000	7,650	(100)***	7,550
1991	10,000	8,600	(207)****	8,393
1992	15,000	11,000		11,000
1993	15,000			

* The fiscal year 1988 Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies appropriations measure directed the Office of Management and Budget to reduce overall funds available for travel items. The Institute's share was $18,000. Public Law 100-202, section 512.

** The fiscal year 1989 Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and Related Agencies appropriations measure directed an across-the-board cut of 1.2 percent, reducing the Institute's available funding by $84,000. Public Law 100-436, section 517.

*** Funds were reduced by an across-the-board cut of $100,000 under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings mechanism.

**** The initial appropriation of $8,600,000 was reduced by $207,000 under budget reconciliation legislation to $8,393,000. Later, a mini-sequester added a further reduction of $159,000 to $8,234,000. This amount was restored during fiscal year 1991 to give a final appropriation of $8,393,000.

Operating Budgets (in thousands of dollars)

Fiscal Year	Final Appropriation	Carryover, Interest and Misc.	Operating Budget
1985	$ 4,000	$ —	$ —
1986	—	4,000	4,000
1987	625	3,700	4,325
1988	4,290	1,177	5,467
1989	6,916	377	7,293
1990	7,550	582*	8,132
1991	8,393	572	8,965
1992	11,000	708**	11,708

* Includes funds available from one-time deobligations of prior year funds.

** Includes $225 for grants approved in fiscal year 1991, but not obligated until fiscal year 1992.

appropriations for the year, any funds carried over from the preceding year, interest earned on funds invested for the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace, and miscellaneous receipts from sales of books and videotapes. The Endowment, which was authorized under section 1704(c) of the enabling legislation and established by the Institute's Board of Directors in September 1987, is a complementary, nonprofit, tax-exempt corporation. It shares the same directors and officers as the Institute and is operated for the same purposes, with the additional authority to invest funds—by direction of the Board in short-term Treasury obligations and interest-bearing checking accounts—until they are dispensed. The Endowment earned slightly more than $300,000 in interest annually in fiscal years 1990 and 1991.

FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES AND PAYMENT MECHANISMS

To perform many of its personnel and other administrative support services, the Institute contracted with the General Services Administration (GSA) for fiscal year 1986 and then with the Office of Administration of the Executive Office of the President. The latter contract ended with the close of fiscal year 1990. Beginning in fiscal year 1991, the Institute has concluded similar contracts with GSA for more limited services.

The Institute funds its programs and activities through two accounts: a Treasury appropriations account maintained by GSA and a Riggs Bank account of the nonprofit, tax-exempt Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace. The Endowment account is used principally to pay grants, fellowships, scholarships, and rent. Staff salaries and most other program expenses are dispersed from the appropriations account.

ANNUAL AUDIT

As required under section 1708(g) of the enabling legislation, the Institute contracts for an audit of both the Institute and the Endowment and forwards a consolidated audit report accounts to the President and Congress. Audits during the recent reporting period were conducted by the firm of Ernst and Young.

PERSONNEL

During fiscal year 1990, the Institute had thirty-nine full-time permanent positions. During fiscal year 1991, the Institute had forty-four full-time permanent positions. (Whenever possible and appropriate, the Institute makes use of limited and other short-term consultant and employment arrangements to conduct its activities.) The expansion in staff reflects corresponding growth in Institute programs. By law, all employees hired after October 1, 1988, are ineligible for federal health and life insurance and retirement benefits; consequently, the Institute has established private benefit systems for these personnel.

OFFICE SPACE

In December 1987, the Institute leased space in a small office building in downtown Washington. It has since acquired additional space in the same building to accommodate the needs of increasing program activity. An important aspect of the Institute's use of the building is access to a ground floor conference room for public meetings, including Board meetings, working group sessions, conferences, and presentations.

The Institute's senior staff, seated (left to right): Charles D. Smith, Charles E. Nelson, Samuel W. Lewis, and Patricia Bandy. Standing (left to right): Hrach Gregorian, Robert Oakley, Jeanne Bohlen, David Little, Michael Lund, Bernice J. Carney, Kenneth M. Jensen, and Gregory M. McCarthy.

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BIOGRAPHIES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Elspeth Davies Rostow (Chairman) was elected chairman of the Board of Directors in July 1991, after serving two and one-half years as vice chairman. Professor Rostow is Stiles Professor of American Studies Emerita and professor of government at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, the University of Texas at Austin, where she was formerly dean. She is a graduate of Barnard College and has received advanced degrees from Radcliffe College and Cambridge University. Professor Rostow's work has concentrated on the areas of American studies and U.S. foreign policy. She is the author of numerous articles and three books: *Europe's Economy After the War, America Now*, and *The Cottailless Lands-lide*. She has taught and lectured at all five senior military colleges, the Foreign Service Institute, and six universities and also serves on the Board of Directors of the National Academy of Public Administration.

Dennis L. Bark is senior fellow of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University. Dr. Bark received his Ph.D. in modern European history and political science *summa cum laude* from the Free University of Berlin. The recipient of a number of fellowships, he has been a member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships and chairman of the United States Coast Guard Academy Advisory Committee. Dr. Bark is the author or editor of several books, including *Agreement on Berlin: A Study of the 1971–72 Quadripartite Negotiations; To Promote Peace: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Mid-1980s; Thinking About America: The United States in the 1980s;* and *Thinking About America: The United States in the 1990s*. In addition, Dr. Bark is coauthor with David R. Gress of *A History of West Germany: Vol. 1, From Shadow to Substance, 1945–1963* and *Vol. 2, Democracy and Its Discontents, 1963–1988*.

Chester Crocker is distinguished professor of international relations at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service. In 1989 and 1990, Professor Crocker was a Distinguished Fellow of the United States Institute of Peace. From 1981 to 1989 he was assistant secretary of state for African affairs and the principal mediator in U.S.–Soviet sponsored negotiations among Angola, Cuba, and South Africa leading to independence for Namibia, withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, and the subsequent composition of UN peacekeeping forces and election observers during Namibia's transition to democratic governance. Prior to joining the Georgetown faculty in 1972, Professor Crocker was a staff member at the National Security Council. He has written articles for numerous foreign policy journals and is the coeditor of *South Africa into the 1980s*. He earned a Ph.D. in international politics and African studies from The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., is president emeritus of the University of Notre Dame, where he was president for thirty-five years, from 1952 to 1987, thus having the longest tenure among active presidents of American institutions of higher learning. Among his accomplishments at Notre Dame was the establishment of the Institute for International Peace Studies, whose advisory committee he chairs. Father Hesburgh was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1964 and has held fourteen presidential appointments relating to civil and human rights, Vietnam War objectors, atomic energy, Third World development, and immigration reform. In 1957 he became a charter member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission and served as its chairman from 1969 to 1972. As ambassador to the 1979 UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development, he was the first Catholic priest to serve in a formal diplomatic role for the U.S. government. Father Hesburgh was educated at Notre Dame and the Gregorian University in Rome and later received his doctorate (S.T.D) from the Catholic University of America. He is the author of many works, including his bestselling autobiography, *God, Country, and Notre Dame* (1990).

William R. Kintner was U.S. ambassador to Thailand between 1973 and 1975. A graduate of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, Ambassador Kintner received his Ph.D. from Georgetown University. Following a distinguished Army career, which included service in the Normandy landing and in the Korean conflict (for which he received the Legion of Merit with oak leaf cluster and the Bronze Star with oak leaf cluster), in 1961 Ambassador Kintner became a professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania, where he was later president and director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. Ambassador Kintner has also been editor of the quarterly journal *Orbis*, a fellow of the Hudson Institute, a member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, and a member of the board of Freedom House.

He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the author or coauthor of numerous books, including *The Front Is Everywhere; Peace and the Strategic Conflict; Protracted Conflict; Building the Atlantic World; The New Frontier of War;* and *Soviet Global Strategy.*

Evron M. Kirkpatrick is president of the Helen Dwight Reid Educational Foundation and served for more than twenty-five years as executive director of the American Political Science Association. He is president of the American Peace Society and is also the editor and chairman of the editorial board of *World Affairs.* Dr. Kirkpatrick received his Ph.D. from Yale University and, immediately following World War II, held several research positions with the U.S. Department of State. He was chairman of the Social Science Division of the University of Minnesota, where he became a mentor to the late Hubert H. Humphrey, a long-time advocate of a national peace institution. Dr. Kirkpatrick taught for four years at Howard University and was a member of the faculty of Georgetown University from 1959 to 1984. He is a former member of the National Arbitration Association and of its board of arbitrators and has served on the council and the executive committee of the International Political Science Association. He is the author of numerous books and articles about American government and international affairs.

Morris I. Leibman, a partner in the law firm of Sidley & Austin in Chicago, was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1981. For many years, Mr. Leibman was chairman of the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Law and National Security and was the 1986 recipient of the Fellows of the American Bar Association's Annual Fifty-Year Award. He received his undergraduate and J.D. degrees from the University of Chicago. Mr. Leibman was a founder and now serves on the executive board of the Center for Strategic and International Studies and is also founder and current chairman of the National Strategy Forum in Chicago.

Mary Louise Smith was the national chairman of the Republican party from 1974 to 1977, the only woman ever to have held this position, and has been active in Iowa and national politics for over three decades. She has been a member of U.S. delegations to United Nations conferences in New York, Paris, and Geneva and was a member of the President's Commission for the Observance of the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations in 1970–1971. Mrs. Smith served as vice chair of the United States Commission on Civil Rights from 1982 to 1984. A graduate of the University of Iowa, Mrs. Smith also has honorary degrees from Grinnell College and Drake University. She is a founding member of the Iowa Women's Political Caucus, a member of the Advisory Board of the National Women's Political Caucus and the Iowa Centennial Memorial Foundation, a trustee of the Hoover Presidential Library Association, and a former board member of the Iowa Peace Institute.

W. Scott Thompson is professor of international politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. A Rhodes Scholar and a graduate of Stanford and Oxford Universities, Dr. Thompson has been a White House fellow, an assistant to the secretary of defense, and an associate director of the United States Information Agency. He is the author or editor of numerous books and articles on foreign policy; a founding member of the board of the Committee on the Present Danger; a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies; and a member of the board of the Institute for Strategic Trade.

Allen Weinstein was awarded the United Nations Peace Medal in 1986 for his work in promoting a peaceful political transition in the Philippines and peaceful resolution of the conflict in El Salvador. He is president of The Center for Democracy in Washington, D.C. and University Professor and professor of history at Boston University. He has also taught at Georgetown University and was president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a member of the editorial board of *The Washington Post,* and editor of *The Washington Quarterly* and *The Center Magazine.* He also served as acting president of the National Endowment for Democracy. A prize-winning historian, Professor Weinstein is the author of many books, including *Freedom and Crisis: An American History; Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case;* and *Between the Wars: American Foreign Policy from Versailles to Pearl Harbor.*

Ex Officio Members

Vice Admiral J. A. Baldwin joined the Institute's Board when he became president of the National Defense University on September 1, 1989. He graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy and was commissioned in June 1955. Throughout his career, he has served at sea as commanding officer of ships in both the Atlantic and Pacific Fleets and has commanded a destroyer squadron and a carrier battle group. Vice Admiral Baldwin also served as executive assistant to the secretary of the Navy, military assistant to the deputy secretary of defense, and president of the Naval War College. His decorations include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, the Legion of Merit with two Gold

Stars, the Bronze Star with Combat "V," the Meritorious Service Medal, and the Vietnamese Honor Medal First Class.

Stephen J. Hadley is assistant secretary of defense for international security policy and was senior staff member on the U.S. Department of Defense transition team for the Bush administration. He was designated to serve on the Institute's Board by the secretary of defense in August 1989. From 1986 to 1987, Mr. Hadley worked for the Tower Commission investigating U.S. arms sales to Iran and was previously a consultant to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in connection with the hearings on the proposed SALT II Treaty. From 1977 through January 1989, Mr. Hadley practiced law with the firm of Shea & Gardner in Washington, D.C., the last six years as a partner. He has served on various other government posts in the national security field, including the staff of the National Security Council. Mr. Hadley earned his J.D. from Yale Law School and received the Israel Perez Prize for his submission to the *Yale Law Journal*.

Ronald F. Lehman II was sworn in as director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) on May 2, 1989. Before that appointment, Ambassador Lehman was assistant secretary of defense for international security policy, in which capacity he also served as an ex officio member of the Institute's Board. Ambassador Lehman has been chief U.S. negotiator for strategic nuclear arms at the arms control talks in Geneva; a staff member of the Senate Armed Services Committee; deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs; and senior director for arms control and defense programs on the staff of the National Security Council. Ambassador Lehman received his undergraduate degree from Claremont Men's College and his Ph.D. from Claremont Graduate School.

Richard Schifter, assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, was designated by the secretary of state to join the Institute's Board in 1986. Ambassador Schifter has served as the U.S. member of the United Nations Human Rights Commission and as deputy U.S. representative to the Security Council with the rank of Ambassador. He was active for many years in the civic and educational affairs of his home state of Maryland, serving on a number of boards and commissions, including positions as vice president and president of the Maryland State Board of Education, chairman of the Governor's Commission for the Funding of the Education of Handicapped Children, and chairman of the Maryland Values in Education Commission. Ambassador Schifter graduated *summa cum laude* from the College of the City of New York and received his L.L.B. from Yale Law School.

The following members left the Board during the 1989–91 reporting period.

John Norton Moore was the chairman of the Board of Directors from its first meeting in February 1986 until his resignation in June 1991. Professor Moore is the Walter L. Brown Professor of Law and director of the graduate program at the University of Virginia and formerly counselor on international law to the Department of State; U.S. ambassador to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea; deputy special representative of the President to the Law of the Sea Conference; chairman of the National Security Council's Interagency Task Force on the Law of the Sea; and a consultant to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He was also a member of the National Advisory Committee on Oceans and Atmosphere; a member of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; chairman of the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Law and National Security; cochairman of the University of Virginia Council on Legal Education Opportunity program; a member of the board of editors of the *American Journal of International Law*; and a fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Professor Moore is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the American Law Institute and is the author and editor of numerous books on international conflict management, including *Law and Civil War in the Modern World; The Arab–Israeli Conflict* (vols. I–IV); and the award-winning *Law and the Indo–China War*.

Sidney Lovett, a retired United Church of Christ minister, served on the Board from its first meeting in February 1986 through November 1991. He received his undergraduate education at Yale University and his Master of Divinity degree from Union Theological Seminary. Reverend Lovett was senior minister of the First Church of Christ Congregational in West Hartford, Connecticut from 1976 to 1986, and later was interim pastor of Rock Spring Congregational Church (United Church of Christ) in Arlington, Virginia, where he previously had been senior pastor. Prior to that time, he served as the conference minister to the Central Atlantic Conference (United Church of Christ). Reverend Lovett has been on the boards of directors of many human services agencies and theological schools, including service as the director and president of the Alban Institute in Washington, D.C.

Richard John Neuhaus served on the Board from its first meeting in February 1986 until he resigned in August 1991. Ordained a Catholic priest in 1991, he is director of the Institute on Religion and Public Life in New York and was previously director of the Center on Religion and Society, also in New York. As a Lutheran clergyman, Reverend Neuhaus served as senior pastor of a parish in Brooklyn, New York for seventeen years. He has held leadership positions in numerous organizations concerned with civil rights, peace, international justice, and religious ecumenism. Reverend Neuhaus was editor of *Worldview* and *The Religion and Society Report* and editor-in-chief of *This World: A Journal of Religion and Public Life* and is currently editor-in-chief of *First Things: The Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life*. Reverend Neuhaus is the author of ten books, including *The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America; Movement and Revolution; To Empower People*; and *The Catholic Moment*.

W. Bruce Weinrod, a member of the Board since its first meeting in February 1986, resigned in December 1989 to accept appointment to full-time federal service as deputy assistant secretary of defense for European and NATO policy. Mr. Weinrod, a U.S. Army veteran, holds a J.D. degree from Georgetown University School of Law and an M.A. degree in international affairs from the University of Pennsylvania, where he worked at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He has been director of foreign policy and defense studies at the Heritage Foundation; legislative director to Senator John Heinz; manager of international corporate affairs for the Chase Manhattan Bank; and a public member of the U.S. delegation to the 1986–1988 Vienna Helsinki Agreement Follow-up Talks on the Helsinki Accords. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Mr. Weinrod serves on the advisory board of the Institute for International Business and Trade at Georgetown University Business School. His is a board member of the Foreign Student Service Council and past president of the International Affairs Council.

OFFICERS AND SENIOR STAFF

Officers

Samuel W. Lewis became president of the Institute on November 1, 1987, and serves as a nonvoting member of the Institute's Board of Directors. He retired from the State Department in 1985, after thirty-one years as a Foreign Service officer. His last assignment was from 1977 to 1985 as U.S. ambassador to Israel, first appointed by President Carter and then reaffirmed by President Reagan. He was a prominent actor in Arab–Israeli negotiations, including the Camp David conference, the Egyptian–Israeli Peace Treaty, and U.S. efforts to bring the Israeli invasion of Lebanon to a peaceful conclusion. He previously served as assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs; deputy director of the Policy Planning Staff; senior staff member on the National Security Council; a member of the United States Agency for International Development mission to Brazil; special assistant to the under secretary of state; and in lengthy assignments to Brazil, Italy, and Afghanistan. Before coming to the Institute, Ambassador Lewis was diplomat-in-residence at The Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute and a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution. He is a graduate of Yale University (*magna cum laude*), earned an M.A. degree in international relations from The Johns Hopkins University, and also spent one year as a visiting fellow at Princeton University.

Charles E. Nelson is the Institute's executive vice president. Mr. Nelson previously served as vice president of an American export trading company conducting business with Latin America and as an executive in the RAND Corporation's housing and civil justice programs. He has also worked as a lawyer, manager, and senior administrator in the United States Agency for International Development and in a private consulting firm on economic and social development programs in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America. Mr. Nelson holds an A.B. degree (*magna cum laude*) from Harvard University and an LL.B. from Harvard Law School and has completed graduate courses at the London School of Economics and the National War College.

Charles Duryea Smith is general counsel and also directs activities of the Institute's Rule of Law Initiative. He was special assistant to Senator Spark Matsunaga (chairman of the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy for Peace and Conflict Resolution) and drafted both the final report and the legislation that became the United States Institute of Peace Act. He also served on the staffs of federal commissions reporting on the internment of citizens during World War II and U.S. immigration and refugee policy; is a former Peace Corps volunteer; and has worked in the fields of criminal, constitutional, and immigration law. Mr. Smith is the editor of *The Hundred Percent Challenge: Building a National Institute of Peace*. He holds an A.B. degree from Oberlin College, an M.A. degree in English literature from Washington University (St. Louis), and a J.D. from Boston University School of Law, and has done postgraduate work at Harvard University Law School.

Kenneth M. Jensen is director of the Research and Studies Program and was also the first director of the Institute's Grant Program. His doctoral research and subsequent scholarship has focused on Russian Marxist social and political thought. He is the author of *Beyond Marx and Mach* and many articles, papers, and reviews in the Russian and Soviet fields; consulting editor of *Studies in Soviet Thought*; and editor (with Fred E. Baumann) of three books on American policy issues: *American Defense Policy and Liberal Democracy*; *Crime and Punishment: Issues in Criminal Justice*; and *Religion and Politics*. Dr. Jensen holds degrees in history, Russian, and Soviet studies from the University of Colorado, University of Wisconsin, and Moscow State University, USSR.

Senior Staff

Patricia Bandy, director of publications and marketing, has twenty years of experience in journalism and publishing. Before coming to the Institute, Ms. Bandy worked at the Close Up Foundation, where she established its publication and book/video marketing department, which received several awards and honors. She has also worked in the publishing areas of several other institutions, including the American Red Cross; has managed the publications component for a multimillion dollar federal education and clearinghouse program; and has been a consultant in publishing management for nonprofit institutions. She has researched, written, and produced material in a variety of formats and has won awards for her work. She holds a B.A. degree in English and an M.A. degree in journalism and public relations from the University of Oklahoma.

Jeanne Bohlen is director of the Jeannette Rankin Library Program. Ms. Bohlen came to the Institute from Independent Sector, where she was vice president for membership, with responsibilities for membership recruitment and retention, grants administration, and the annual membership meeting and assembly. She was the founding director of The Foundation Center's Cleveland field office, which included a library serving grant makers and grant seekers in eighteen midwestern states. Earlier positions include head librarian, reference supervisor, and reference librarian in public libraries and editor of book publications at University Microfilms, Inc. She has been active in many professional organizations, including holding elective office in both the Special Libraries Association and the American Library Association. Ms. Bohlen received her M.L.S. degree from Rutgers University and her A.B. degree from Oberlin College with a major in physics.

Bernice J. Carney is director of administration. She brings to her position more than twenty-five years of experience with agencies of the federal government. For sixteen years, Ms. Carney served on the staff of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, where her last position was chief administrative officer.

Hrach Gregorian is director of the Grant Program and director of the Education and Training Program. He came to the Institute from the National Endowment for the Humanities, where he conducted special research projects in the Division of State Programs; served as a program officer in the Office of the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution; and was coordinator of the Endowment's special initiative on the Foundations of American Society. Previously, Dr. Gregorian was assistant professor and acting chairman of the Political Science Department at Simmons College in Boston. His principal areas of academic and professional interest are international relations, political philosophy, and American political institutions and thought. He received a B.A. degree from Boston University and his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Brandeis University. Dr. Gregorian is a consulting editor of the quarterly journal *Ararat* and has published articles in several journals and college textbooks.

David Little is senior scholar on religion, human rights, and ethics. In this capacity, he directs the Institute's working group on Religion, Ideology, and Peace. Dr. Little was one of the Institute's first distinguished fellows and a professor of religious studies at the University of Virginia. He has also held teaching positions at Harvard University and Yale University and fellowships at Amherst College, Brown University, University of Colorado, and Haverford College. He is the author of numerous books, including *Religion, Order and Law*; *American Foreign Policy and Moral Rhetoric*; *Comparative Religious Ethics*; and *Human Rights and the Conflict of Values* and has contributed to a number of edited volumes and journals. Dr. Little received his D.Th. from Harvard University and his graduate training in the philosophy of law and ethics.

Michael S. Lund is director of the Jennings Randolph Fellowship Program. He is a former Peace Corps volunteer, a professor of government and public policy, and public policy analyst at the Urban Institute and several federal agencies. His teaching, research, and publications have focused on political development, especially in Western Europe and Africa; public policymaking and administration in the United States and elsewhere; the evaluation of public policy performance; and the relationship between research and the policy process. He is

coeditor of *The Reagan Presidency and the Governing of America* and *Beyond Privatization: The Tools of Government Action*. He holds a B.A. degree in philosophy from Augustana College, a B.D. degree from Yale Divinity School, and an M.A. degree and Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago.

Gregory M. McCarthy is director of Public Affairs and Information. Prior to joining the Institute, he was on the staff of the National Council on U.S.–Arab Relations where he created and directed programs involving grants, teacher training, and a variety of grassroots educational activities. He also managed two academic scholarship programs for high school students and college faculty in five Middle Eastern countries. Mr. McCarthy holds a B.S. degree in international economics from Georgetown University.

Robert Oakley is senior coordinator of the Special Middle East Program in Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution. After thirty-four years in the U.S. Foreign Service, he retired in September 1991. His last assignment was as ambassador to Pakistan from 1988 to 1991. During this period, nuclear proliferation, democratic governance, and South Asian security were important issues in United States–Pakistani relations. Ambassador Oakley was special assistant to the president and senior director for Middle East and South Asia affairs at the National Security Council in 1987 and 1988 and director of the Office of Combatting Terrorism at the Department of State in 1986 and 1987. Other assignments have included ambassador to Somalia and Zaire, and senior positions at the Department of State, the White House, and the U.S. mission to the United Nations. Ambassador Oakley holds a B.A. degree from Princeton University.

The following individuals also held senior staff positions but left the Institute during fiscal years 1990 and 1991.

Hume Horan, a career Arabist in the U.S. Foreign Service, was senior coordinator of the Special Middle East Program in Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution from April to July of 1991, after which he became president of the American Foreign Service Association. Before coming to the Institute, his assignments included ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Cameroon and tours at the American embassies in Jordan, Libya, Iraq, and Lebanon and at the U.S. Department of State, including service as special assistant to the director general of the U.S. Foreign Service. He was also a congressional fellow in the offices of then-Senator Edward Muskie and Representative Bradford Morse and a research professor at Georgetown University. Ambassador Horan earned a master's degree in Middle Eastern Studies from Harvard University and studied at universities in Baghdad, Amman, and Tripoli.

John Richardson was director of the Education and Training Program when he retired in September 1990 after a career in international exchange, education, and communications that spanned three decades. His previous positions included eight years as president of Youth for Understanding, for which he was decorated by the governments of Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany; seven years as assistant secretary of state for educational and cultural affairs; and seven years as president of Radio Free Europe. Other related positions include executive director for social policy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University; chairman of the board of the National Endowment for Democracy; and board memberships in a variety of other organizations. Mr. Richardson received his undergraduate and law degrees from Harvard University.

Steven R. Schlesinger was director of the Education and Training Program from January 1991 through June 1991, when he left the Institute to accept a position as director of the Office of Policy Development at the Department of Justice. Before joining the Institute staff he was director of curriculum and instruction at the Close Up Foundation. Prior to that he was director of the Bureau of Justice Statistics at the U.S. Department of Justice, a position for which he was confirmed by the U.S. Senate. Dr. Schlesinger's teaching career spans more than two decades; he is currently an adjunct professor at American University's School of Public Affairs. He has written more than twenty articles in professional law and political science journals and three books and is the editor of *Venue at the Crossroads*. He received a Ph.D. degree from Claremont Graduate School.

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THE UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE ACT

Title XVII of the Defense Authorization Act of 1985, Public Law No. 98-525 (Oct. 19, 1984), 98 Stat. 2492, 2649, 22 U.S.C. 4601-4611, as amended.

SHORT TITLE

Sec. 1701. This title may be cited as the "United States Institute of Peace Act".

DECLARATION OF FINDINGS AND PURPOSES

Section 1702. (a) The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) a living institution embodying the heritage, ideals, and concerns of the American people for peace would be a significant response to the deep public need for the Nation to develop fully a range of effective options, in addition to armed capacity, that can leash international violence and manage international conflict;

(2) people throughout the world are fearful of nuclear war, are divided by war and threats of war, are experiencing social and cultural hostilities from rapid international change and real and perceived conflicts over interests, and are diverted from peace by the lack of problem-solving skills for dealing with such conflicts;

(3) many potentially destructive conflicts among nations and peoples have been resolved constructively and with cost efficiency at the international, national, and community levels through proper use of such techniques as negotiation, conciliation, mediation, and arbitration;

(4) there is a national need to examine the disciplines in the social, behavioral, and physical sciences and the arts and humanities with regard to the history, nature, elements, and future of peace processes, and to bring together and develop new and tested techniques to promote peaceful economic, political, social, and cultural relations in the world;

(5) existing institutions providing programs in international affairs, diplomacy, conflict resolution, and peace studies are essential to further development of techniques to promote peaceful resolution of international conflict, and the peacemaking activities of people in such institutions, government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations can be strengthened by a national institution devoted to international peace research, education and training, and information services;

(6) there is a need for Federal leadership to expand and support the existing international peace and conflict resolution efforts of the Nation and to develop new comprehensive peace education and training programs, basic and applied research projects, and programs providing peace information;

(7) the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, created by the Education Amendments of 1978, recommended establishing an academy as a highly desirable investment to further the Nation's interest in promoting international peace;

(8) an institute strengthening and symbolizing the fruitful relation between the world of learning and the world of public affairs, would be the most efficient and immediate means for the Nation to enlarge its capacity to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflicts; and

(9) the establishment of such an institute is an appropriate investment by the people of this Nation to advance the history, science, art, and practice of international peace and the resolution of conflicts among nations without the use of violence.

(b) It is the purpose of this title to establish an independent, nonprofit, national institute to serve the people and the Government through the widest possible range of education and training, basic and applied research opportunities, and peace information services on the means to promote international peace and the resolution of conflicts among the nations and peoples of the world without recourse to violence.

DEFINITIONS

Sec. 1703. As used in this title, the term—

(1) "Institute" means the United States Institute of Peace established by this title; and

(2) "Board" means the Board of Directors of the Institute.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INSTITUTE

Sec. 1704. (a) There is hereby established the United States Institute of Peace.

(b) The Institute is an independent nonprofit corporation and an organization described in section 170(c)(2)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

The Institute does not have the power to issue any shares of stock or to declare or pay any dividends.

(c) As determined by the Board, the Institute may establish, under the laws of the District of Columbia, a legal entity which is capable of receiving, holding, and investing public funds for purposes in furtherance of the Institute under this title. The Institute may designate such legal entity as the "Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace".

(d) The Institute is liable for the acts of its directors, officers, employees, and agents when acting within the scope of their authority.

(e) (1) The Institute has the sole and exclusive right to use and to allow or refuse others to use the terms "United States Institute of Peace", "Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace", "Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace", and "Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace" and the use of any official United States Institute of Peace emblem, badge, seal, and other mark or recognition or any colorable simulation thereof. No powers or privileges hereby granted shall interfere or conflict with established or vested rights secured as of September 1, 1981.

(2) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, the Institute may use "United States" or "U.S." or any other reference to the United States Government or Nation in its title or in its corporate seal, emblem, badge, or other mark of recognition or colorable simulation thereof in any fiscal year only if there is an authorization of appropriations for the Institute for such fiscal year provided by law.

POWERS AND DUTIES

Sec. 1705. (a) The Institute may exercise the powers conferred upon a non-profit corporation by the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act consistent with this title, except for section 5(o) of the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act (D.C. Code, sec. 29-1005(o)).

(b) The Institute, acting through the Board, may—

(1) establish a Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace and appoint, for periods up to two years, scholars and leaders in peace from the United States and abroad to pursue scholarly inquiry and other appropriate forms of communication on international peace and conflict resolution and, as appropriate, provide stipends, grants, fellowships, and other support to the leaders and scholars;

(2) enter into formal and informal relationships with other institutions, public and private, for purposes not inconsistent with this title;

(3) establish a Jeannette Rankin Research Program on Peace to conduct research and make studies, particularly of an interdisciplinary or of a multidisciplinary nature, into the causes of war and other international conflicts and the elements of peace among the nations and peoples of the world, including peace theories, methods, techniques, programs, and systems, and into the experiences of the United States and other nations in resolving conflicts with justice and dignity and without violence as they pertain to the advancement of international peace and conflict resolution, placing particular emphasis on realistic approaches to past successes and failures in the quest for peace and arms control and utilizing to the maximum extent possible United States Government documents and classified materials from the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the intelligence community;

(4) develop programs to make international peace and conflict resolution research, education, and training more available and useful to persons in government, private enterprise, and voluntary associations, including the creation of handbooks and other practical materials;

(5) provide, promote, and support peace education and research programs at graduate and post-graduate levels;

(6) conduct training, symposia, and continuing education programs for practitioners, policymakers, policy implementers, and citizens and non-citizens directed to developing their skills in international peace and conflict resolution;

(7) develop, for publication or other public communication, and disseminate, the carefully selected products of the Institute;

(8) establish a clearinghouse and other means for disseminating information, including classified information that is properly safeguarded, from the field of peace learning to the public and to government personnel with appropriate security clearances; and

(9) secure directly, upon request of the president of the Institute to the head of any Federal department or agency and in accordance with section 552 of title 5, United States Code (relating to freedom of information), information necessary to enable the Institute to carry out the purposes of this title if such release of the information would not unduly interfere with the proper function of a department or agency, including classified information if the Institute staff and members of the Board who have access to such classified information obtain appropriate security clearances from the Department of Defense and the Department of State.

(c)(1)(A) The Institute, acting through the Board, may each year make an award to such person or persons who it determines have contributed in extraordinary ways to peace among the nations and peoples of the world, giving special attention to contributions that advance society's knowledge and skill in peacemaking and conflict management. The award shall include the public presentation to such person or persons of the Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace and a cash award in an amount of not to exceed $25,000 for any recipient.

(B)(i) The Secretary of the Treasury shall strike the Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace with suitable emblems, devices, and inscriptions which capture the goals for which the Medal is presented. The design of the medals shall be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury in consultation with the Board and the Commission of Fine Arts.

(ii) The Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace shall be struck in bronze and in the size determined by the Secretary of the Treasury in consultation with the Board.

(iii) The appropriate account of the Treasury of the United States shall be reimbursed for costs incurred in carrying out this subparagraph out of funds appropriated pursuant to section 1710(a)(1).

(2) The Board shall establish an advisory panel composed of persons eminent in peacemaking, diplomacy, public affairs, and scholarship, and such advisory panel shall advise the Board during its consideration of the selection of the recipient of the award.

(3) The Institute shall inform the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Labor and Human Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives about the selection procedures it intends to follow, together with any other matters relevant to making the award and emphasizing its prominence and significance.

(d) The Institute may undertake extension and outreach activities under this title by making grants and entering into contracts with institutions of postsecondary, community, secondary, and elementary education (including combinations of such institutions), with public and private educational training, or research institutions (including the American Federation of Labor—the Congress of Industrial Organizations) and libraries, and with public departments and agencies (including State and territorial departments of education and of commerce). No grant may be made to an institution unless it is a nonprofit or official public institution, and at least one-fourth of the Institute's annual appropriations shall be paid to such nonprofit and official public institutions. A grant or contract may be made to—

(1) initiate, strengthen, and support basic and applied research on international peace and conflict resolution;

(2) promote and advance the study of international peace and conflict resolution by educational, training, and research institutions, department, and agencies;

(3) educate the Nation about and educate and train individuals in peace and conflict resolution theories, methods, techniques, programs, and systems;

(4) assist the Institute in its publication, clearinghouse, and other information services programs;

(5) assist the Institute in the study of conflict resolution between free trade unions and Communist-dominated organizations in the context of the global struggle for the protection of human rights; and

(6) promote the other purposes of this title.

(e) The Institute may respond to the request of a department or agency of the United States Government to investigate, examine, study, and report on any issue within the Institute's competence, including the study of past negotiating histories and the use of classified materials.

(f) The Institute may enter into contracts for the proper operation of the Institute.

(g) The Institute may fix the duties of its officers, employees, and agents, and establish such advisory committees, councils, or other bodies, as the efficient administration of the business and purposes of the Institute may require.

(h) (1) Except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (3) the Institute may obtain grants and contracts, including contracts for classified research for the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the intelligence community, and receive gifts and contributions from government at all levels.

(2) The Institute may not accept any gift, contribution, or grant from, or enter into any contract with, a foreign government, any agency or instrumentality of such government, any international organization, or any foreign national, except that the Institute may accept the payment of tuition by foreign nationals for instruction provided by the Institute. For purposes of this paragraph, the term—

(A) "foreign national" means—

(i) a natural person who is a citizen of a foreign country or who owes permanent allegiance to a foreign country; and

(ii) a corporation or other legal entity in which natural persons who are nationals of a foreign country own, directly or indirectly, more than 50 percent of the outstanding capital stock or other beneficial interest in such legal entity; and

(B) "person" means a natural person, partnership, association, other unincorporated body, or corporation.

(3) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, the Institute and the legal entity described in section 1704(c) may not obtain any grant or contract or receive any gift or contribution from any private agency, organization, corporation or other legal entity, institution, or individual.

(i) The Institute may charge and collect subscription fees and develop, for publication or other public communication, and disseminate periodicals and other materials.

(j) The Institute may charge and collect fees and other participation costs from persons and institutions participating in the Institute's direct activities authorized in subsection (b).

(k) The Institute may sue and be sued, complain, and defend in any court of competent jurisdiction.

(l) The Institute may adopt, alter, use, and display a corporate seal, emblem, badge, and other mark of recognition and colorable simulation thereof.

(m) The Institute may do any and all lawful acts and things necessary or desirable to carry out the objectives and purposes of this title.

(n) The Institute shall not itself undertake to influence the passage or defeat of any legislation by the Congress of the United States or by any State or local legislative bodies, or by the United Nations, except that the personnel of the Institute may testify or make other appropriate communication when formally requested to do so by a legislative body, a committee, or a member thereof.

(o) The Institute may obtain administrative support services from the Administrator of General Services on a reimbursable basis.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Sec. 1706 (a) The Powers of the Institute shall be vested in a Board of Directors unless otherwise specified in this title.

(b) The Board shall consist of fifteen voting members as follows:

(1) The Secretary of State (or if the Secretary so designates, another officer of the Department of State who was appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate).

(2) The Secretary of Defense (of if the Secretary so designates, another officer of the Department of Defense who was appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate).

(3) The Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (or if the Director so designates, another officer of that Agency who was appointed with the advice and consent of the Senate).

(4) The president of the National Defense University (or if the president so designates, the vice president of the National Defense University).

(5) Eleven individuals appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

(c) Not more than eight voting members of the Board (including members described in paragraphs (1) through (4) of subsection (b)) may be members of the same political party.

(d) (1) Each individual appointed to the Board under subsection (b)(5) shall have appropriate practical or academic experience in peace and conflict resolution efforts of the United States.

(2) Officers and employees of the United States Government may not be appointed to the Board under subsection (b)(5).

(e) (1) Members of the Board appointed under subsection (b)(5) shall be appointed to four year terms, except that—

(A) the term of six of the members initially appointed shall be two years, as designated by the President at the time of their nomination;

(B) a member may continue to serve until his or her successor is appointed; and

(C) a member appointed to replace a member whose term has not expired shall be appointed to serve the remainder of that term.

(2) The terms of the members of the Board initially appointed under subsection (b)(5) shall begin on January 20, 1985, and subsequent terms shall begin upon the expiration of the preceding term, regardless of when a member is appointed to fill that term.

(3) The President may not nominate an individual for appointment to the Board under subsection (b)(5) prior to January 20, 1985, but shall submit the names of eleven nominees for initial Board membership under subsection (b)(5) not later than ninety days after that date. If the Senate rejects such a nomina-

tion or if such nomination is withdrawn, the President shall submit the name of a new nominee within fifteen days.

(4) An individual appointed as a member of the Board under subsection (b)(5) may not be appointed to more than two terms on the Board.

(f) A member of the Board appointed under subsection (b)(5) may be removed by the President—

(1) in consultation with the Board, for conviction of a felony, malfeasance in office, persistent neglect of duties, or inability to discharge duties;

(2) upon the recommendation of eight voting members of the Board; or

(3) upon the recommendation of a majority of the members of the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives and a majority of the members of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Labor and Human Resources of the Senate.

A recommendation made in accordance with paragraph (2) may be made only pursuant to action taken at a meeting of the Board, which may be closed pursuant to the procedures of subsection (h)(3). Only members who are present may vote. A record of the vote shall be maintained. The President shall be informed immediately by the Board of the recommendation.

(g) No member of the Board may participate in any decision, action, or recommendation with respect to any matter which directly and financially benefits the member or pertains specifically to any public body or any private or nonprofit firm or organization with which the member is then formally associated or has been formally associated within a period of two years, except that this subsection shall not be construed to prohibit an ex officio member of the Board from participation in actions of the Board which pertain specifically to the public body of which the member is an officer.

(h) Meetings of the Board shall be conducted as follows:

(1) The President shall stipulate by name the nominee who shall be the first Chairman of the Board. The first Chairman shall serve for a term of three years. Thereafter, the Board shall elect a Chairmen every three years from among the directors appointed by the President under subsection (b)(5) and may elect a Vice Chairman if so provided by the Institute's bylaws.

(2) The Board shall meet at least semiannually, at any time pursuant to the call of the Chairman, or as requested in writing to the Chairman by at least five members of the Board. A majority of the members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for any Board meeting.

(3) All meetings of the Board shall be open to public observation and shall be preceded by reasonable public notice. Notice in the Federal Register shall be deemed to be reasonable public notice for purposes of the preceding sentence. In exceptional circumstances, the Board may close portions of a meeting, upon a majority vote of its members present and with the vote taken in public session, which are likely to disclose information likely to affect adversely any ongoing peace proceeding or activity or to disclose information or matters exempted from public disclosure pursuant to subsection (c) of section 552b of title 5, United States Code.

(i) A director appointed by the President under subsection (b)(5) shall be entitled to receive the daily equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay in effect for grade GS-18 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, for each day during which the director is engaged in the performance of duties as a member of the Board.

(j) While away from his home or regular place of business in the performance of duties for the Institute, a director shall be allowed travel expenses, including a per diem in lieu of subsistence, not to exceed the expenses allowed persons employed intermittently in Government service under section 5703(b) of title 5, United States Code.

OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

Sec. 1707. (a) The Board shall appoint the president of the Institute and such other officers as the Board determines to be necessary. The president of the Institute shall be a nonvoting ex officio member of the Board. All officers shall serve at the pleasure of the Board. The president shall be appointed for an explicit term of years. Notwithstanding any other provision of law limiting the payment of compensation, the president and other officers appointed by the Board shall be compensated at rates determined by the Board, but no greater than that payable for level I of the Executive Schedule under chapter 53 of title 5, United States Code.

(b) Subject to the provisions of section 1705(h)(3), the Board shall authorize the president and other officials or employees it designates to receive and disburse public moneys, obtain and make grants, enter into contracts, establish and collect fees, and undertake all other activities for the efficient and proper functioning of the Institute.

(c) The president, subject to the Institute's bylaws and general policies established by the Board, may appoint, fix the compensation of, and remove such employees of the Institute as the president determines necessary to carry out the purposes of the

Institute. In determining employee rates of compensation, the president shall be governed by the provisions of title 5, United States Code, relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

(d) (1) The President may request the assignment of any Federal officer or employee to the Institute by an appropriate department or agency, or congressional official or Member of Congress and may enter into an agreement for such assignment, if the affected officer or employee agrees to such assignment and such assignment causes no prejudice to the salary, benefits, status, or advancement within the department, agency, or congressional staff of such officer or employee.

(2) The Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the Director of Central Intelligence each may assign officers and employees of his respective department or agency, on a rotating basis to be determined by the Board, to the Institute if the affected officer or employee agrees to such assignment and such assignment causes no prejudice to the salary, benefits, status, or advancement within the respective department or agency of such officer or employee.

(e) No officer or full-time employee of the Institute may receive any salary or other compensation for services from any source other than the Institute during the officer's or employee's period of employment by the Institute, except as authorized by the Board.

(f) (1) Officers and employees of the Institute shall not be considered officers and employees of the Federal Government except for purposes of the provisions of title 28, United States Code, which relate to Federal tort claims liability, and the provisions of title 5, United States code, which relate to compensation and benefits, including the following provisions: chapter 51 (relating to classification); subchapters I and III of chapter 53 (relating to pay rates); subchapter I of chapter 81 (relating to compensation for work injuries); chapter 83 (relating to civil service retirement); chapter 87 (relating to life insurance); and chapter 89 (relating to health insurance). The Institute shall make contributions at the same rates applicable to agencies of the Federal Government under the provisions of title 5 referred to in this section.

(2) The Institute shall not make long-term commitments to employees that are inconsistent with rules and regulations applicable to Federal employees.

(g) No part of the financial resources, income, or assets of the Institute or of any legal entity created by the Institute shall inure to any agent, employee, officer, or director or be distributable to any such person during the life of the corporation or upon dissolution or final liquidation. Nothing in this section may be construed to prevent the payment of reasonable compensation for services or expenses to the directors, officers, employees, and agents of the Institute in amounts approved in accordance with the provisions of this title.

(h) The Institute shall not make loans to its directors, officers, employees, or agents, or to any legal entity created by the Institute. A director, officer, employee, or agent who votes for or assents to the making of a loan or who participates in the making of a loan shall be jointly and severally liable to the Institute for the amount of the loan until repayment thereof.

PROCEDURES AND RECORDS

Sec. 1708. (a) The Institute shall monitor and evaluate and provide for independent evaluation if necessary of programs supported in whole or in part under this title to ensure that the provisions of this title and the bylaws, rules, regulations, and guidelines promulgated pursuant to this title are adhered to.

(b) The Institute shall prescribe procedures to ensure that grants, contracts, and financial support under this title are not suspended unless the grantee, contractor, or person or entity receiving financial support has been given reasonable notice and opportunity to show cause why the action should not be taken.

(c) In selecting persons to participate in Institute activities, the Institute may consider a person's practical experience or equivalency in peace study and activity as well as other formal requirements.

(d) The Institute shall keep correct and complete books and records of account, including separate and distinct accounts of receipts and disbursements of Federal funds. The Institute's annual financial report shall identify the use of such funding and shall present a clear description of the full financial situation of the Institute.

(e) The Institute shall keep minutes of the proceedings of its Board and of any committees having authority under the Board.

(f) The Institute shall keep a record of the names and addresses of its Board members; copies of this title, of any other Acts relating to the Institute, and of all Institute bylaws, rules, regulations, and guidelines; required minutes of proceedings; a record of all applications and proposals and issued or received contracts and grants; and financial records of the Institute. All items required by this subsection may be inspected by any Board member or the member's agent or attorney for any proper purpose at any reasonable time.

(g) The accounts of the Institute shall be audited annually in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards by independent certified public accountants certified or licensed by a regulatory authority of a State or other political subdivision of the United States on or before December 31, 1970. The audit shall be conducted at the place or places where the accounts of the Institute are normally kept. All books, accounts, financial records, files, and other papers, things and property belonging to or in use by the Institute and necessary to facilitate the audit shall be made available to the person or persons conducting the audit, and full facilities for verifying transactions with the balances or securities held by depositories, fiscal agents, and custodians shall be afforded to such persons or persons.

(h) The Institute shall provide a report of the audit to the President and to each House of Congress no later than six months following the close of the fiscal year for which the audit is made. The report shall set forth the scope of the audit and include such statements, together with the independent auditor's opinion of those statements, as are necessary to present fairly the Institute's assets and liabilities, surplus or deficit, with reasonable detail, including a statement of the Institute's income and expenses during the year, including a schedule of all contracts and grants requiring payments in excess of $5,000 and any payments of compensation, salaries, or fees at a rate in excess of $5,000 per year. The report shall be produced in sufficient copies for the public.

(i) The Institute and its directors, officers, employees, and agents shall be subject to the provisions of section 552 of title 5, United States Code (relating to freedom of information).

INDEPENDENCE AND LIMITATIONS

Sec. 1709. (a) Nothing in this title may be construed as limiting the authority of the Office of Management and Budget to review and submit comments on the Institute's budget request at the time it is transmitted to the Congress.

(b) No political test or political qualification may be used in selecting, appointing, promoting, or taking any other personnel action with respect to any officer, employee, agent, or recipient of Institute funds or services or in selecting or monitoring any grantee, contractor, person, or entity receiving financial assistance under this title.

FUNDING

Sec. 1710. (a)(1) For the purpose of carrying out this title (except for paragraph (9) of section 1705 (b)), there are authorized to be appropriated $10,000,000 for fiscal year 1989; $10,000,000 for fiscal year 1990; $10,000,000 for fiscal year 1991; $15,000,000 for fiscal year 1992; and $15,000,000 for fiscal year 1993.

(2) Funds appropriated pursuant to paragraph (1) are authorized to remain available until expended.

(b) The Board of Directors may transfer to the legal entity authorized to be established under section 1704(c) any funds not obligated or expended from appropriations to the Institute for a fiscal year, and such funds shall remain available for obligation or expenditure for the purposes of such legal entity without regard to fiscal year limitations. Any use by such legal entity of appropriated funds shall be reported to each House of Congress and to the President of the United States.

(c) Any authority provided by this title to enter into contracts shall be effective for a fiscal year only to such extent or in such amounts as are provided in appropriation Acts.

DISSOLUTION OR LIQUIDATION

Sec. 1711. Upon dissolution or final liquidation of the Institute or of any legal entity created pursuant to this title, all income and assets of the Institute or other legal entity shall revert to the United States Treasury.

REPORTING REQUIREMENT AND REQUIREMENT TO HOLD HEARINGS

Sec. 1712. Beginning two years after the date of enactment of this title, and at intervals of two years thereafter, the Chairman of the Board shall prepare and transmit to the Congress and the President a report detailing the progress the Institute has made in carrying out the purposes of this title during the preceding two-year period. The President shall prepare and transmit to the Congress within a reasonable time after the receipt of such report the written comments and recommendations of the appropriate agencies of the United States with respect to the contents of such report and their

recommendations with respect to any legislation which may be required concerning the Institute. After receipt of such report by the Congress, the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Labor and Human Resources of the Senate shall hold hearings to review the findings and recommendations of such report and the written comments received from the President.

The United States Institute of Peace Act has been amended four times. Following is a brief history of the changes to the Act to date.

The Higher Education Technical Amendments Act of 1986, Pub. L. No. 99-498 (Oct. 17, 1986), 100 Stat. 1612, 20 U.S.C. 4609 note, authorized appropriations for fiscal years 1987 and 1988 at the same levels originally provided, which were $6,000,000 for the fiscal year 1985 and $10,000,000 for the fiscal year 1986.

SEC. 1601. (a) AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

(1) The first sentence of section 1710(a) of the United States Institute of Peace Act (22 U. S. C. 4609(a) is amended—

(A) by striking out "fiscal year 1985" and inserting in lieu thereof "fiscal year 1987"; and

(B) by striking out "fiscal year 1986" and inserting in lieu thereof "fiscal year 1988".

(2) The amendments made by paragraph (1) shall take effect on October 1, 1987.

(b) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—The second sentence of section 1710(a) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 4609 (a)) is amended to read as follows: "Amounts appropriated under this section are authorized to remain available to the Institute until expended."

The Higher Education Technical Amendments Act of 1987, Pub. L. No. 100-418 (Aug. 23, 1988), 102 Stat 1523, 22 U.S.C. 4604 (inserting the amendment in section 1705(b)(3)), explicitly authorized an Institute program to be named for Jeannette Rankin.

SEC. 25. UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE. Section 1703 of the United States Institute of Peace Act is amended by inserting after "(3)" the following: "establish a Jeannette Rankin Research Program on Peace to"...

The Act of October 31, 1988, Pub. L. No. 100-569, TITLE III - UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE, 102 Stat. 2862, 22 U.S.C. 4606 and 4609, authorized appropriations for fiscal years 1989 through 1993 and, by deleting the provision that "No Federal funds shall be used to pay for private fringe benefits programs", permitted the Institute to offer private fringe benefits to its employees.

SEC. 301. REAUTHORIZATION

Section 1710(a) of the Department of Defense Authorization Act, 1985 (22 U.S.C. 4609(a)) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 1710. (a)(1) For the purpose of carrying out this title (except for paragraph (9) of section 1705(b)), there are authorized to be appropriated $10,000,000 for fiscal year 1989; $10,000,000 for fiscal year 1990; $10,000,000 for fiscal year 1991; $15,000,000 for fiscal year 1992; and $15,000,000 for fiscal year 1993.

"(2) Funds appropriated pursuant to paragraph (1) are authorized to remain available until expended."

(b) Section 1707(f)(2) of the United States Institute of Peace Act (22 U.S.C. 4606(f)(2)) is amended by striking out the first sentence thereof.

The Act appropriating funds for the Legislative Branch for Fiscal Year 1991, Pub. L. 101-520 (Nov. 5, 1990), provided in section 321 for the Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace.

SEC. 321. (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1705 of the United States Institute of Peace Act (22 U.S.C. 4604) as amended—

(1) in subsection (b)—

(A) by adding "and" after the semicolon at the end of paragraph (8);

(B) by striking out paragraph (9); and

(C) by redesignating paragraph (10) as paragraph (9);

(2) by redesignating subsections (c) through (n) as subsections (d) through (o), respectively; and

(3) by inserting after subsection (b) the following:

"(c)(1)(A) The Institute, acting through the Board, may each year make an award to such person or persons who it determines to have contributed in extraordinary ways to peace among the nations and peoples of the world, giving special attention to contributions that advance society's knowledge and skill in peacemaking and conflict management. The award shall include the public presentation to such person or persons of the Spark M. Matsunaga Medal

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of Peace and a cash award in an amount of not to exceed $25,000 for any recipient.

"(B)(i) The Secretary of the Treasury shall strike the Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace with suitable emblems, devices, and inscriptions which capture the goals for which the Medal is presented. The design of the medals shall be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury in consultation with the Board and the Commission of Fine Arts.

"(ii) The Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace shall be struck in bronze and in the size determined by the Secretary of the Treasury in consultation with the Board.

"(iii) The appropriate account of the Treasury of the United States shall be reimbursed for costs incurred in carrying out this subparagraph out of funds appropriated pursuant to section 1710(a)(1).

"(2) The Board shall establish an advisory panel composed of persons eminent in peacemaking, diplomacy, public affairs, and scholarship, and such advisory panel shall advise the Board during its consideration of the selection of the recipient of the award.

"(3) The Institute shall inform the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Labor and Human Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives about the selection procedures it intends to follow, together with any other matters relevant to making the award and emphasizing its prominence and significance.".

(b) USE OF MEDAL NAME.—Section 1704(e)(1) of the United States Institute of Peace Act (22 U.S.C. 4603(e)(1)) is amended by inserting "'Spark M. Matsunaga Medal of Peace'," after "'International Peace',".

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 1707(b) of the United States Institute of Peace Act (22 U.S.C. 4606(b)) is amended by striking out "section 1705(g)(3)" and inserting in lieu thereof "section 1705(h)(3)".

BYLAWS OF THE UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

(adopted April 28, 1988)

ARTICLE I — NATURE AND POWERS OF THE CORPORATION

Section 1. Nature of the Corporation.

The United States Institute of Peace is the independent, nonprofit corporation established by Section 1704 of the United States Institute of Peace Act, Title XVII, Public Law 98-525; 98 Stat. 2492, 2649; 22 U.S.C. § 4601 (1984), as amended. The Corporation will serve the people and the Government through the widest possible range of education and training, basic and applied research, and information services on the means to promote international peace and the management and resolution of conflict among the nations and peoples of the world.

Section 2. Powers and Duties.

The powers and duties of the Corporation are as set forth in the Act. The powers of the Corporation include, to the extent consistent with the Act, the powers conferred upon a nonprofit corporation by the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act.

ARTICLE II — DEFINITIONS

Section 1. As used in these Bylaws, except where the context otherwise requires —

(a) "Act" means the United States Institute of Peace Act, Title XVII of Public Law 98-525; 98 Stat. 2492, 2649; 22 U.S.C. §4601 (1984), as it is now or may be amended;

(b) "Board" means the Board of Directors of the Corporation;

(c) "Chairman" means the Chairman of the Board of Directors initially appointed and thereafter elected pursuant to Section 1706(h)(1) of the Act;

(d) "Corporation" means the United States Institute of Peace established by Section 1704 of the Act;

(e) "Director" means a voting member of the Board of Directors appointed pursuant to Section 1706 of the Act;

(f) "Grantee" means an institution or individual who has received a grant from the Institute;

(g) The pronouns "he," "him," and "his" mean, respectively, "he or she," "him or her," and "his or hers",

(h) "Fellow" means an individual who has received a fellowship or other form of support from the Institute as part of the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace;

(i) "Member of the Board" means a Director or the President of the Corporation;

(j) "Person" means an individual, corporation, association, partnership, trust, or other legal entity;

(k) "President" means the President of the Corporation appointed pursuant to Section 1707 of the Act;

(l) "Recipient" means any person receiving financial assistance from the Corporation.

ARTICLE III — OFFICES

Section 1. Principal Offices.

The Corporation shall maintain its principal office in the District of Columbia.

Section 2. Other Offices.

The Corporation may have offices at such other places, either within or without the District of Columbia, as determined by the Board.

ARTICLE IV — BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. General Powers.

The powers of the Corporation are vested in the Board, subject to the provisions of the Act.

Section 2. Number, Terms of Office, and Qualifications.

The Board shall consist of fifteen Directors, with appointments, qualifications, and terms of office as provided in Section 1706 of the Act. Eleven shall be appointed from outside of federal service by the President of the United States subject to Senate confirmation. The Secretary of State, Secretary of

Defense, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and President of the National Defense University, shall, pursuant to section 1706(b)(1)-(4), be *ex officio* voting members of the Board. Not more than eight voting members of the Board may be members of the same political party. If the President of the National Defense University is a member of the Board and is an active duty military officer, he may assert the tradition of political neutrality of the American military and no political party membership shall be attributed to him. If any of the four ex officio voting members elects not to serve, he may designate a Senate-confirmed and otherwise eligible subordinate official from his agency or department to serve on the Board. Such designation, in order to be effective, must be in writing, signed by the agency or department head, and received by the Chairman at the Institute's office. The Chairman shall transmit information on the designation to all other members of the Board within 30 calendar days or at the next meeting of the Board, whichever comes first. Changes in the Board's ex officio membership shall be announced to the public no later than at the first public meeting of the Board of Directors following receipt of the letter of designation by the Chairman. The President shall serve as a nonvoting member of the Board.

Section 3. The Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Board.

(a) Every three years, commencing with the expiration of the term of the first Chairman appointed by the President of the United States or at such other times as there may be vacancies in such office, the Board shall elect a Chairman from among the Directors appointed from outside of federal service under Section 1706(b)(5) of the Act. The Board may also elect a Vice Chairman for a term not to exceed three years from among the Directors appointed from outside of federal service under Section 1706(b)(5) of the Act.

(b) The Chairman shall preside, if present, at all meetings of the Board; carry out all other functions required of him by the Act and these Bylaws; and represent the Board in matters concerning the day-to-day operations of the Institute. The Vice Chairman, if any, shall preside, in the absence of the Chairman, at meetings of the Board and shall perform such other duties as from time to time may be requested of him by the Chairman.

Section 4. Outside Interests of Directors and Officers.

(a) No member of the Board may participate in any decision, action, or recommendation with respect to any matter which directly and financially benefits such member or pertains specifically to any public body or any private or nonprofit firm or organization with which the member is then formally associated or has been formally associated within a period of two years, except that this provision shall not be construed to prohibit an *ex officio* member of the Board from participation in actions of the Board which pertain specifically to the public body of which that member is an officer.

(b) Pursuant to reporting procedures established from time to time by Board resolution, all Directors and Officers shall, on an annual basis after assuming office, file with the Institute's Ethics Officer (or General Counsel if no Ethics Officer has been designated) a list of those activities and relationships which might reasonably raise an issue of conflict of interest or the appearance of a conflict of interest with respect to the mandate and activities of the Institute.

Section 5. Compensation.

A Director appointed by the President from outside of federal service shall be entitled to receive the daily equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay in effect for grade GS-18 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, for each day during which the Director is engaged in the performance of duties as a member of the Board.

Section 6. Travel.

While away from his home or regular place of business in the performance of duties for the Institute, a Director shall be allowed travel expenses, including a per diem in lieu of subsistence, not to exceed the expenses allowed persons employed intermittently in Government service under section 5703(b) of title 5, United States Code. All travel, other than to attend meetings of the Board, for which a Director seeks reimbursement from the Institute shall have the prior authorization of the Chairman or President.

ARTICLE V — MEETINGS OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. Meetings.

Meetings of the Board shall be held at least two times each calendar year. Meetings shall be held at intervals and locations determined by the Chairman. If any five members of the Board request in writing that a meeting be scheduled, the Chairman shall schedule a meeting to occur within 45 days of receiving such request.

Section 2. Agenda.

The Chairman shall cause to be prepared the agenda for each meeting, and shall include the agenda in the notice of the meeting sent to all Directors. Any matters appearing on the agenda which the Chairman believes should be discussed in a closed session in accordance with Section 1706(h)(3) of the Act shall be so noted.

Section 3. Quorum; Manner of Acting.

(a) A majority of the Directors shall constitute a quorum for a Board meeting. Except as otherwise specifically provided by law or these Bylaws, the vote of a majority of the Directors present at the time of a vote, provided that a quorum is present at such time, shall be the act of the Board. A Director who is present at a meeting of the Board but who recuses or abstains from participation in the deliberation or vote on any matter, whether he remains in the meeting room or withdraws therefrom during the deliberation or vote, may be counted for purposes of determining whether or not a quorum is present, and if a quorum is present, the vote of a majority of the then voting Directors shall be the act of the Board. After having convened with a quorum, a meeting may continue without a quorum, but no vote may be taken unless a quorum is present.

(b) Each Director is entitled to one vote. Voting rights of Directors may not be exercised by proxy.

Section 4. Public Meetings; Executive Sessions.

All meetings of the Board shall be open to public observation and shall be preceded by reasonable public notice, for which purpose notice in the Federal Register shall be deemed to be reasonable. As provided in Section 1706(h)(3) of the Act, the Board may close portions of a meeting, upon a majority vote of its members present and with the vote recorded and taken in public session, which are likely to disclose information likely to affect adversely any ongoing peace proceeding or activity or to disclose information or matters exempted from public disclosure pursuant to subsection (C) of the Government in the Sunshine Act, Section 552b of Title 5, United States Code. The chairman of the meeting shall announce the general subject of the closed session prior to such a vote.

Section 5. Minutes.

The Institute shall keep minutes of the proceedings of the Board and of any committee having authority under the Board. The minutes shall record the names of the Directors present, subjects addressed, and any actions taken. The minutes of each meeting shall be available for inspection by the public in the form approved by the Board.

Section 6. Action by Directors Without a Meeting.

In exceptional circumstances, any action which may be taken at a meeting of the Board may be taken without a meeting, if agreement or ratification in writing, setting forth the action taken, is signed by all of the Directors. Any such action so taken shall be included on the agenda of the next meeting of the Board for discussion, ratification, or such other action as may be indicated by the circumstances.

ARTICLE VI — COMMITTEES

Section 1. Establishment and Appointment of Committees.

The Board shall have the following permanent committees: Education and Training; Research and Studies; Information Services; Institutional Planning; Organization and Administration; and Personnel. The Board may, by resolution of a majority of the full Board, establish (and thereafter dissolve) such other executive, standing, permanent, or temporary committees to perform such functions as the Board may designate. The authority of any such committee shall expire at the time specified in such resolution or subsequently determined by the Board. The Chairman shall appoint Directors to serve on such committees, as well as the members who shall chair such committees. The Chairman shall be a voting member of each committee. The President shall be a nonvoting member of each committee.

Section 2. Committee Procedures.

(a) Except as otherwise provided in these Bylaws or in the resolution establishing the committee, a majority of the voting members of a committee, or one-half of such members if their number is even, shall constitute a quorum. A Director who is present at a meeting of a committee but who recuses or abstains from participation in the deliberation or vote on any matter, whether he remains in the meeting room or withdraws therefrom during the deliberation or vote, may be counted for purposes of determining whether or not a quorum is present, and if a quorum is present, the vote of a majority of the then voting Directors shall be the act of the committee. The vote of a majority of the voting members present at the time of a vote, if a quorum is present at such time, shall be the act of the committee. After having convened with a quorum, a meeting may continue without a quorum, but no vote may be taken unless a quorum is present.

(b) Each voting member of a committee is entitled to one vote. Voting rights of committee members may not be exercised by proxy.

Section 3. Public Meetings; Executive Sessions.

All meetings of any committee of the Board shall be open to public observation and shall be preceded by reasonable public notice, for which purpose notice in the Federal Register shall be deemed to be reasonable. As provided in Section 1706(h)(3) of the Act, a committee may close portions of a meeting, upon a majority vote of its members present and with the vote recorded and taken in public session, which are likely to disclose information likely to affect adversely any ongoing peace proceeding or activity or to disclose information or matters exempted from public disclosure pursuant to subsection (C) of the Government in the Sunshine Act, Section 552b of Title 5, United States Code. The chairman of the meeting shall announce the general subject of the closed session prior to such a vote.

ARTICLE VII — OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

Section 1. Officers.

The officers of the Corporation shall be a President, a Vice President, and such other officers as the Board from time to time shall determine to be necessary. The officers shall have such authority and shall perform such duties, consistent with the Act and these Bylaws, as may be determined by the Board by resolution or, with respect to all officers but the President, by the President consistent with policies established by the Board. The President shall supervise and direct the other officers in the performance of their duties.

Section 2. Appointment, Term of Office, and Qualifications.

The President shall be appointed by majority vote of the full Board for a specific but renewable term of not less than one year and not more than three years. Each officer of the Corporation other than the President shall be appointed by majority vote of the full Board for a specific term or, if not specified, for a term that may not exceed three years without the appointment being reaffirmed by the Board. All officers shall serve at the pleasure of the Board. An officer shall hold office until a successor is duly appointed in his stead or until he resigns or is removed in the manner provided in Section 3 of this Article.

Section 3. Removal.

The officers of the Corporation may be removed by a majority vote of the full Board. Such removal shall be without prejudice to the contract rights, if any, of the person so removed, nor shall the appointment itself of the officer be construed to create contract rights.

Section 4. Resignation.

Any officer may resign at any time by giving a written notice of his resignation to the Chairman. An officer other than the President shall also submit written notice of his resignation to the President. Such resignation shall take effect at the time it is received by the Chairman, unless another time is specified therein. The acceptance of such resignation shall not be necessary to make it effective.

Section 5. The President.

The President is a nonvoting member of the Board and the Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation, with the responsibility and authority as provided in the Act, these Bylaws, policies established by the Board, and rules and regulations promulgated pursuant to the Act, these Bylaws, or Board policies for (1) the day-to-day administration of the affairs of the Corporation, (2) the appointment and removal of such employees of the Corporation as he determines necessary to carry out the purposes of the Corporation, and (3) the exercise of such other powers incident to the office of the President and the performance of such other duties as the Board may from time to time prescribe. These powers include those emumerated in Section 1707(b), (c), and (d) of the Act, which include the receipt and disbursement of public monies, obtaining and making grants, entering into contracts, establishing and collecting fees, and making personnel decisions.

Section 6. Vice President.

The Vice President shall have such powers and shall perform such duties as the Board has determined and as the President may from time to time prescribe, consistent with policies of the Board. In the absence of and upon delegation by the President, a Vice President shall perform the duties of the President, and when so acting, shall have all the powers of, and shall be subject to all restrictions upon, the President.

Section 7. Compensation of Officers and Employees.

(a) Officers shall be compensated at rates determined by the Board pursuant to Section 1707(a) of the Act.

(b) As provided in Section 1707(e) of the Act, no officer or other full-time employee of the Corporation may receive any salary or other compensation for services from any sources other than the Corporation during his period of employment by the Corporation, except as authorized by the Board.

Section 8. Outside Interests of Officers and Employees.

Consistent with the Act, the Board may from time to time adopt resolutions governing the conduct of officers or employees with respect to matters in which the officers or employees may have any interests that might be perceived as adverse to the interests of the Corporation.

ARTICLE VIII — TRANSFER OF FUNDS TO THE ENDOWMENT

The President periodically shall report to the Board on the Institute's financial situation, including any statutory requirements, and shall advise the Board on transferring appropriated funds that have not been obligated or expended from the Institute's Treasury account to the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace, in exercise of the Board's authority under Section 1710(b) of the Act.

ARTICLE IX — PROHIBITIONS

Section 1. Prohibition Against Intervention in Ongoing Conflicts.

No Director, officer, employee, fellow, grantee, or other individual, acting on behalf of the Institute, shall intervene directly in any ongoing international conflict without the approval of the Board and the concurrence of the Department of State.

Section 2. Prohibition Against Lobbying.

The Institute itself shall not undertake nor shall any funds of the Institute be used to influence the passage or defeat of any legislation by the Congress of the United States or by any State or local legislative bodies, or by the United Nations or any other international governmental body, except that personnel of the Institute may testify or make other appropriate communication when requested to do so by a legislative body, a committee, or a member thereof.

Section 3. Prohibition Against Political Activity.

(a) No Director, officer, employee, or any other person shall, on behalf of the Institute, take a position for or against any political party or candidate for political office. Nothing in this section shall preclude the right of an individual to express his opinion in his private capacity or in a public capacity separate and distinct from his position with the Institute.

(b) Directors, officers, employees, fellows, and grantees of the Institute shall exercise due care in their professional and private activities — including, where appropriate, by use of a disclaimer — to avoid conveying the impression that their personal views or activities are the views or activities of the Institute.

Section 4. Prohibition Against Classified Research.

The Institute shall not sponsor or support classified research nor shall any officer or employee of the Institute engage in classified research, except with the approval of two-thirds of the full Board. The Board may discuss such proposed activity in executive session, after indicating the general nature of the proposal in public session. Any decision to engage in classified research in Institute programs shall be reported at the next public session of the Board.

Section 5. Prohibition Against Political Tests or Qualifications.

No political test or political qualification may be used in selecting, appointing, promoting, or taking any other personnel action with respect to any Institute officer, employee, or agent.

ARTICLE X — SEAL

The Corporation shall have a corporate seal in a form adopted by the Board.

ARTICLE XI — INDEMNIFICATION

Present and past Directors, officers, employees, and agents of the Institute may be indemnified for any and all liabilities and reasonable expenses incurred in connection with any claim, action, suit, or proceeding arising from present or past service for the Institute, in accordance with resolutions adopted by the Board.

ARTICLE XII — FISCAL YEAR

The fiscal year of the Corporation shall be that of the Federal Government.

ARTICLE XIII — AMENDMENTS

These Bylaws may be amended by a recorded vote of three-quarters of the full Board, which three-quarters shall include no less than two *ex officio* Directors, at each of two public meetings, at least 30 and not more than 180 calendar days apart, provided that (a) such amendment is not inconsistent with the Act or other applicable provision of federal law, (b) the notice of the meeting at which such action is taken shall have stated the substance of the proposed amendment, and (c) the notice of such meeting shall have been mailed, telegraphed, or delivered to each Director at least five (5) days before the date of the meeting.

ARTICLE XIV—EFFECTIVE DATE

These Bylaws are effective when approved by the Board and shall operate prospectively.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION OF ENDOWMENT OF THE UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE, INCORPORATED

TO: Department of Consumer and Regulatory Affairs Corporations Division
614 H Street N.W., Washington, DC 20001

We, the undersigned natural persons of the age of twenty-one years or more, acting as incorporators and desiring to form a Nonprofit Corporation under the DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA NONPROFIT CORPORATION ACT (D.C. Code, 1981 edition, Title 29, Chapter 5), adopt the following Articles of Incorporation:

First: The name of the Corporation is Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace, Incorporated.

Second: The period of duration of the Corporation is perpetual.

Third: The purpose for which the Corporation is organized is to receive, hold, invest, and expend public funds for exempt purposes in furtherance of the United States Institute of Peace as established under the United States Institute of Peace Act, Title XVII, Public Law 98-525, as it is now or may be amended. Said Corporation is organized exclusively for charitable, educational, and scientific purposes, including, for such purposes, the making of distributions to organizations that qualify as exempt organizations under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, or corresponding section of any future tax code.

Fourth: The Corporation shall have no members.

Fifth: The manner of appointment of the directors of the Corporation shall be provided in the bylaws.

Sixth: The address of the Corporation's initial registered office is 730 Jackson Place, N.W., and the name of the initial registered agent of such address is Charles Duryea Smith who resides at 4740 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

Seventh: The number of directors constituting the initial Board of Directors is fifteen (15), who shall serve as the initial directors until their successors be selected as provided in the bylaws. The names and addresses of the initial directors are as follows:

Name	*Address*
Prof. John Norton Moore	University of Virginia School of Law Charlottesville, VA 22901
Dr. Dennis L. Bark	Hoover Institute of War, Revolution and Peace Stanford University Stanford, CA 94305
Dr. William R. Kintner	University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia, PA 19104
Dr. Evron M. Kirkpatrick	4000 Albermarle St., N.W. Suite 310 Washington, DC 20016
Morris I. Leibman, Esq.	Sidley & Austin One First National Plaza Chicago, IL 60603
Rev. Sidney Lovett	P.O. Box 448 Holderness, NH 03245
Paster Richard John Neuhaus	Center on Religion and Society 152 Madison Avenue 24th Floor New York, NY 10016
The Honorable Richard Schifter	Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Department of State Room 7802 Washington, D.C. 20520
Dr. W. Scott Thompson	Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy Tufts University Medford, MA 02155
Mr. Bruce Weinrod	The Heritage Foundation 214 Massachusetts Ave., N.E. Washington, DC 20002
Dr. Allen Weinstein	1155 15th Street, N.W. Suite 1010 Washington, D.C. 20005

The Honorable Kenneth L. Adelman	U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency 320 21st Street, N.W., Room 5930 Washington, D.C. 20451
Ambassador Bruce Laingen	National Defense University Fort Leslie J. McNair Room 218, Building 59 4th and P Streets, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20319
The Honorable Richard N. Perle	The Pentagon Room 4E848 Washington, D.C. 20319
Mr. Robert F. Turner (Nonvoting)	United States Institute of Peace 730 Jackson Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20503

Eight: The names and addresses of the incorporators are as follows:

Name	*Address*
Mark D. Schneider	Sidley & Austin 1722 Eye Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006
Charles Duryea Smith	United States Institute of Peace 730 Jackson Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20503
Dr. Kenneth M. Jensen	United States Institute of Peace 730 Jackson Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20503
Ms. Bernice Carney	United States Institute of Peace 730 Jackson Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20503

Ninth: No part of the net earnings of the Corporation shall inure to the benefit of, or be distributable to its directors, officers, or other private persons, except that the Corporation shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable compensation for services rendered and to make payments and distributions in furtherance of the purposes set forth in Article Third hereof. No substantial part of the activities of the Corporation shall be carrying on of propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, and the Corporation shall not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distribution of statements) any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office. Notwithstanding any other provision of these articles, the Corporation shall not, except to an insubstantial degree, engage in any activities or exercise any powers that are not in furtherance of the purposes of this Corporation.

Tenth: Upon the dissolution of the Corporation, assets shall be distributed for one or more exempt purposes within the meaning of Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, or corresponding section of any future federal tax code, or shall be distributed to the federal government pursuant to Section 1711 of the United States Institute of Peace Act, Title XVII, Public Law 98-525, as it is now or may be amended.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have hereunto subscribed our names this 16th day of September, 1986.

Mark D. Schneider (Signed)
INCORPORATOR

Charles Duryea Smith (Signed)
INCORPORATOR

Dr. Kenneth M. Jensen (Signed)
INCORPORATOR

Bernice Carney (Signed)
INCORPORATOR

The signatures above sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of September, 1986

Linda Morgan Blanchard (Signed)
Notary Public
My Commission Expired July 14, 1990

VERIFICATION

The undersigned, being duly sworn upon oath, deposes and states that he is an Incorporator of the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace, and the signature on the attached Articles of Incorporation is genuine.

Mark D. Schneider (Signed)
Mark D. Schneider

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 16th day of September, 1986

Linda Morgan Blanchard (Signed)
Notary Public
My Commission Expired July 14, 1990

The undersigned, being duly sworn upon oath, deposes and states that he is an Incorporator of the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace, and the signature on the attached Articles of Incorporation is genuine.

Charles Duryea Smith (Signed)
Charles Duryea Smith

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 16th day of September, 1986

Linda Morgan Blanchard (Signed)
Notary Public
My Commission Expired July 14, 1990

The undersigned, being duly sworn upon oath, deposes and states that he is an Incorporator of the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace, and the signature on the attached Articles of Incorporation is genuine.

Kenneth M. Jensen (Signed)
Kenneth M. Jensen

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 16th day of September, 1986

Linda Morgan Blanchard (Signed)
Notary Public
My Commission Expired July 14, 1990

The undersigned, being duly sworn upon oath, deposes and states that he is an Incorporator of the Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace, and the signature on the attached Articles of Incorporation is genuine.

Bernice Carney (Signed)
Bernice Carney

Sworn and subscribed to before me this 16th day of September, 1986

Linda Morgan Blanchard (Signed)
Notary Public
My Commission Expired July 14, 1990

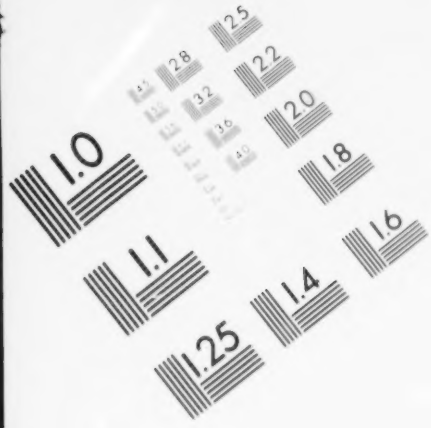
The United States Institute of Peace logo incorporates several elements of historical and institutional significance. The dove, which is derived from George Washington's weathervane at Mount Vernon, symbolizes the traditional American commitment to the cause of peace. The tree is the Connecticut "Charter Oak," the ancient site of Indian treaties and hiding place of Connecticut's charter of liberty in time of trouble, and symbol of the values of peace and freedom. The logo's circular shape depicts a globe that represents the international scope of the Institute's mandate.

"My first wish is to see
this plague of mankind, war,
banished from the earth."

George Washington

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

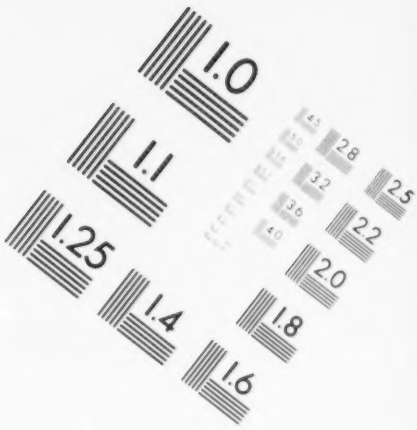
1550 M Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 457-1700
Fax: (202) 429-6063

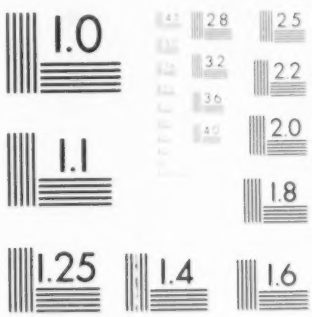


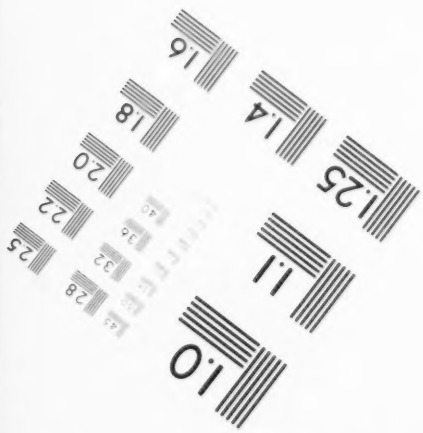
AIIM

Association for Information and Image Management

1100 Wayne Avenue, Suite 1100
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910
301/587-8202







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